Power

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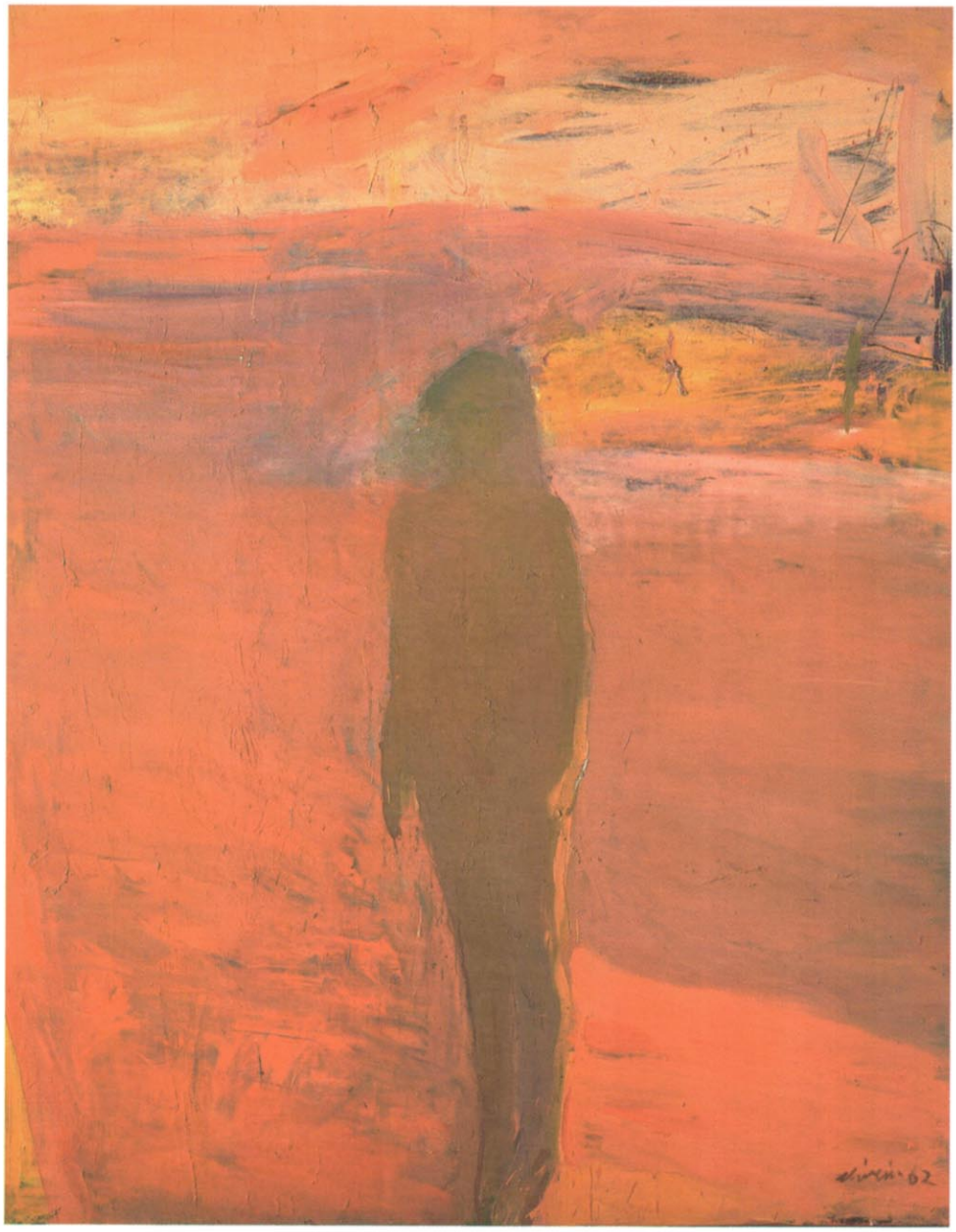
California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

1970 25 1995
Public Service Journalism



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The power elite

Excerpt: "A Rage for Justice"

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DECEMBER 1995
VOLUME XXVI, NUMBER 12

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

With this issue,* California Journal *concludes its year-long exploration of the "California Dream" with a look a power and how the quest for and exercise of power affects the dreams and aspirations of every segment of California society.

1970 25 1995 Public Service Journalism

Power 8

Throughout California's history, the Dream has been fashioned by those with vision and ambition who also had the power to bring about their ideas. But in the final analysis, the principal source of power motivating and driving the California Dream is California itself.

By Steve Scott

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California Journal *profiles Californians who have the vision, charisma or power to help shape the future of the Dream: Donald Bren, Bruce Bronzan, Willie Brown Jr., James Burton, James Clark, David Dreier, Michael Eisner, David Geffen, Stan Glantz, Andrew Grove, Rob Hurtt, Earvin Johnson, Jeffrey Katzenberg, David Lawrence, Bill Lockyer, Monica Lozano, Eliseo Medina, Danielle Madison, Burt Margolin, Don Novey, Leon Panetta, Tom Proulx, Steven Spielberg, Aaron Spelling, Jim Waldorf, John Walton, Mark Willes and Pete Wilson.*

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Two bills passed this year gave those who want to break up Los Angeles Unified School District the power to bring about their dreams. But the task may be too daunting to take advantage of this new clout.

By Keena Lipsitz

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One of the most astute practitioners of political power in California history was the late Phil Burton, whose life and times are chronicled in a new biography by John Jacobs, political editor of McClatchy Newspapers. California Journal *is proud to present an excerpt from that book.*

By John Jacobs

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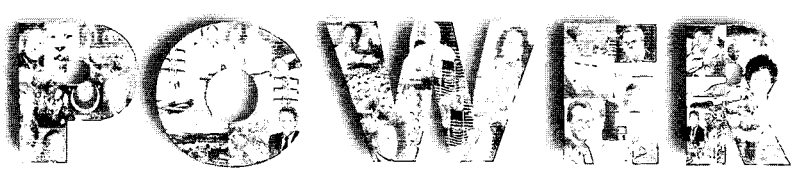

Cover: Spring Nude, 1962, by Nathan Oliveira. Courtesy of the Oakland Museum, Gift of the artist in memory of Edna Stoddard. Oliveira was born in Oakland in 1928 and schooled at California College of Arts & Crafts. He played a prominent role in the Bay Area Figurative movement. His *Spring Nude* is a prominent early work where his figures are solitary and absorbed in a dream-like, undefined world. In the late '60's, Oliveira moved to Stanford to teach art. There he translated his haunting images into bronze sculpture. His later paintings show a vision where there is almost no distinction between background and his solitary figures.

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Boot of the month. Winner — Attorney General Dan Lungren. Nomination papers were supplied by *The Recorder* of San Francisco, which reported recently that Lungren's office badly mismanaged the distribution of $900,000 the state had received from Reebok International as the settlement in a price-fixing suit. The money was supposed to go for fixing up school and community athletic facilities, but the neediest districts never got a dime because, the paper reported, Lungren's office mangled the notification procedure. As a result, affluent Kensington received $5400 to resurface a pair of tennis courts, while San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles got nothing. Mostly, it seems, they got nothing because they didn't know the money was available. According to *The Recorder*, school officials — including the Department of Education — were never notified about the money because Lungren's minions put out the word by publishing notices about the Reebok settlement in various local newspapers — notices that were primarily addressed to Reebok buyers and included in fine print a reference to the school-distribution program. A spokesman for the attorney general's office thought the process was "reasonable."

The dream team. No, it's not Steven Spielberg and his cohorts at DreamWorks. It's the team assembled by the tort-reform folks to pass their battery of initiatives, which qualified for the March ballot last month. They've called themselves the Alliance to Revitalize California. Chief strategist for the group is Ken Khachigian, whose last endeavor was the effort to elect Michael Huffington to the U.S. Senate last November. Khachigian is a GOP poohbah of some note, having worked for President Ronald Reagan and governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, among others. The team's campaign manager, however, is a Democrat — Bill Zimmerman, who has worked for the likes of former U.S. Senator Gary Hart and Harold Washington, the late mayor of Chicago. Team pollster is a Republican — Arnold Steinberg. Direct-mail consultant is a Democrat — Richard Schlackman. Finance director is Anne LeGassick, whose most recent post was raising money for Pete Wilson's presidential bid. Field director is Bill Westermeyer, executive director of Voter Revolt. PBN of San Francisco will handle press relations. Driving force behind the effort is Tom Proulx, the former head of Intuit and creator of the "Quicken" home-finance software. The opposition, organized into a group called Citizens Against Phony Initiatives, is led by Harvey Rosenfield, guiding light behind Proposition 103 and a former ally of several dream-team heavy hitters.

Onward and upward. *Capitol Weekly* ran a feature on the future — of legislators, that is. It polled every member of the Senate and Assembly to see if each had made plans for 1996 and beyond. Most were planning to run for re-election, or for some other office. A few said they were "exploring employment options." And then there was Assemblywoman Doris Allen. Allen, currently fighting a recall effort, said she planned to run — for governor.

Tenor of a campaign. Democrat Roger Dickinson, a Sacramento County supervisor with visions of the Assembly dancing in his head, recently got himself thumped by the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) for asking a poll question about his Democratic primary opponent — Sacramento Councilwoman Deborah Ortiz. The two are vying to replace the seat being vacated by Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg. Essentially, Dickinson's campaign asked how those polled felt about Ortiz if her "main focus" would be on the Hispanic community. That prompted a warning from both MALDEF and some Latino legislators not to inject the issue of race into the campaign. Dickinson complains that Ortiz already had raised the issue by identifying herself as the Latina candidate, and he says the entire situation was orchestrated by Ortiz' campaign consultant — Richie Ross. Dickinson says the whole flap over the poll question — one of many asked during a 25-minute interview with respondents — is a "non-issue." Ortiz raised the issue, he insists, and his campaign merely wanted to see how people reacted to it. The poll itself was conducted at the end of August or early in September.

Legacy thwarted. The name was vaguely familiar. John Seymour. No, not *that* John Seymour. This is junior. Junior was attempting to follow in his father's footsteps — political footsteps, that is. John Jr. ran for the San Diego City Council last month but got his little petunias kicked by Republican political consultant Byron Wear. Seymour senior's last foray into elective politics didn't end well, either. He badly lost the 1992 U.S. Senate race to Democrat Dianne Feinstein. Seymour senior had been appointed to the Senate in 1991 by Governor Pete Wilson to serve out the balance of Wilson's term.

"Voluntarism is the ultimate answer to the good society. The good society is when you help each other — the bad society is when you exploit each other."

— Father Theodore Hesburgh

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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

A Dream divided

For the past 12 months, the *California Journal* has showcased articles on the California Dream. Is this Dream still alive? Are we still a place uniquely blessed; a place where the desire for riches and contentment are fulfilled in unusual numbers? Or has California become a place that, most of the time, looks just like the rest of the country and sometimes looks much worse?

The answer, of course, depends on where you stand.

Clearly for many, the Dream has faltered. Open spaces and empty freeways have given way to tract houses and gridlock. Good jobs in secure industries have vanished, to be replaced with low-wage positions in service industries. New neighborhood schools have been transformed into aging structures with overcrowded classrooms and a host of new social problems unimagined only a generation ago. For the first time in the state's history, more people are leaving California for other states than arrive here from those states.

But for others, the dream is very much alive. For the immigrants who come from Asia, Europe or South and Central America, California still holds out hope and opportunity. They willingly take the low-paying jobs in the efforts to build a better life for themselves and their families. In that, they are no different from the waves of immigrants who arrived here before them.

This month, the last part of our 25th anniversary series, we profile 25 Californians who are in a position to determine the future of the California dream. The list is notable in a number of regards. For the most part, it consists of white males, a reflection of the reality of power as it stands now rather than what our ideals say it should look like. The truth is, we hunted for a more diverse group; we hunted in vain. Still, California is changing. If the *Journal* repeats this exercise on its 50th anniversary, things will no doubt look different.

It also was disappointing that we could find no one involved in education. There are those who may yet emerge, but at this moment, no single individual seems ready to galvanize the state's thinking about this undernourished area. Perhaps in a year or two, the folks at LEARN in Los Angeles may come to the fore. And our own profession of journalism seemed to be woefully lacking in visionaries.

From the standpoint of a magazine devoted to government and politics, it also is notable how few politicians are on the list. Of those who are profiled, some are included mostly by dint of position, rather than through the force of personality or ideas. Pete Wilson is the best example of this. He made it only because he is governor, and the man or woman holding that job can't be ignored, although there were some strong arguments for dumping Wilson from the list because he is a man who has spent this year studiously ignoring the state's future in favor of his own. Indeed, only one politician on the list, Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove), is there because he's had the skill and resources to begin reshaping the state to fit his own image. And we believe that Hurtt is fighting rearguard battles designed, insofar as possible, to stem the demographic tide that will eventually sweep over the state. Hurtt and those who want the Dream, and the state, to look as it did when *California Journal* was new, are destined to lose the war.

Leadership these days — and it is, of course, a question of leadership — seems to pander to what divides us. Those in positions of authority and influence practice a politics that emphasizes our differences rather than those ideals and aspirations that are common to all people. We need leaders who speak to what unites us, and that includes the California Dream.

Perhaps among the 25 are those who will lead us into battles against common foes — ignorance, prejudice, poverty, violence — not against each other.

— Richard Zeiger

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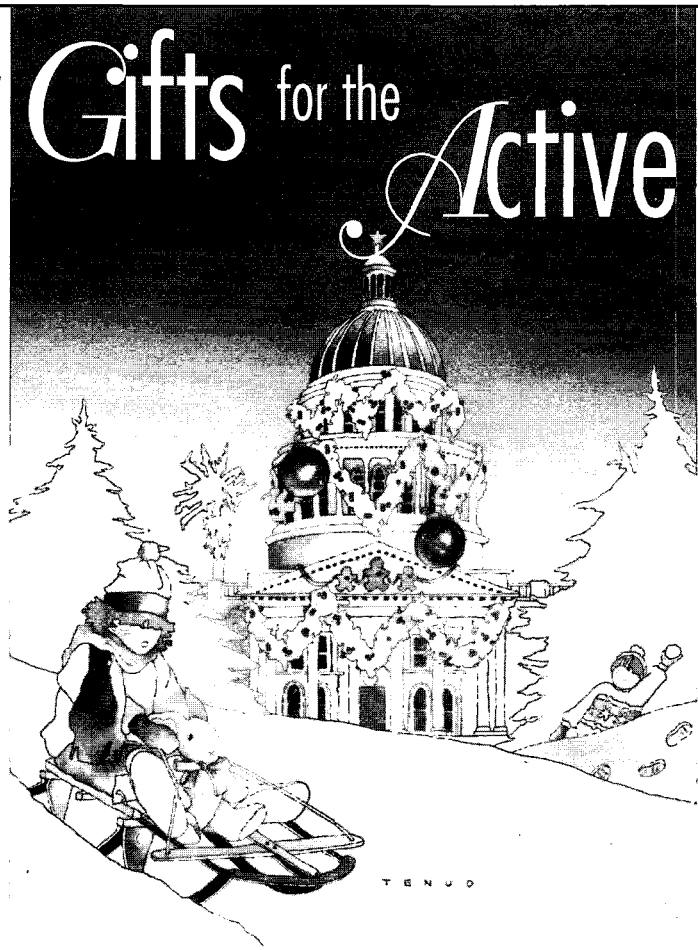
Holiday Gifts for the Active Reader



The New California: Facing the 21st Century, 2nd Edition.

By Dan Walters with an introduction by Larry L. Berg. *The Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9,000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and political implications of these trends. This 1992 edition is 186 pages long and contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data based on the 1990 Census. 5 1/2 X 8 1/2", $11.95.

Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime.

by Lou Cannon. The best book on the Reagan presidency by the reporter who covered Reagan for more than 26 years for the *San Jose Mercury News* and *Washington Post*. We have obtained a supply of the original hardcover 900-page edition. Originally sold at $24.95, it is available now to California Journal subscribers for $9.95.

California Political Almanac.

Every reader becomes a political insider with this candid analysis of California's political leaders written by Sacramento's most knowledgeable journalists. The 1995-96 *California Political Almanac* contains biographies, photographs, voting records and dis-trict description for every member of the state Senate, Assembly and Congress, as well as for every constitutional office. The *Almanac* also includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and much more: over 550 pages of data and analysis. 1995, 6x9", $34.95, paper.

Reporting: An Inside View.

by Lou Cannon. How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the working of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating. 1977. 6x9", 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California Government and Politics Annual.

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The Bottom Line

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

by Susan Rasky

Confessions of a repentent centrist

It's difficult to remember a federal budget cycle when Leon Panetta wasn't warning some journalist about the Great Train Wreck. For all those years on the House Budget Committee, then as director of the Office of Management and Budget, and even in his first months as White House chief of staff, Panetta the consummate legislator could be counted on to spin his scenario of budget doom — a terrible fiscal collision of politics, ideology, stalled appropriations bills, presidential vetoes and the federal debt ceiling.

At this writing, Panetta's Great Train Wreck seems nearly upon us. Yet Panetta now is strangely silent.

Maybe that's because he knows better than almost anybody else in Washington that the near miss is more likely. It always has been. Sooner or later, and probably before Christmas, Congress and the White house will figure out how to clear the tracks. The responsible folks on Capitol Hill will secure the votes for temporary debt limit extensions to avoid calamity on Wall Street and the president and key congressional Republicans will split their differences on Medicare, Medicaid and taxes to get a budget passed.

In the cockeyed world of a budgeteer this is called "victory," a seemingly civilized solution that allows a pluralistic democracy to reconcile the conflicting views and agendas of its citizens. For years, I have defended it that way, praising Panetta and the other good Democrats and Republicans of the center for doing the responsible thing and slogging on to find the middle ground.

This year, I want the train wreck.

I want it not because I relish the prospect of the markets going berserk or because I wish to see chaos in thousands of federal programs. I want the train wreck because it now seems to me the only way of forcing the country's political and media elite, and by extension the broader American public, to question the foolish notion on which the past two decades of federal policymaking have been based.

When and how and why did we let ourselves accept the idea that a balanced federal budget was a good thing unto itself, a goal so worthy morally, economically, politically and socially that every other concept of a national agenda had to be sacrificed in the name of it? How did we manage to confuse so badly the theories of economics and accounting with the rhetoric and sport of politics?

America's moralistic view of debt and budgeting goes back to the very founding of the republic, so it's not entirely surprising that our political contests should revolve around questions of who's spending what and who's taxing whom to pay for it. You might even call that a healthy debate over priorities and at very least a way of distinguishing one political party from another.

But somewhere around the mid-1970s, the comfortable yin and yang of spending and tax fights began to take on loftier pretensions. In 1974 Congress adopted a fancy, sophisticated procedure for rendering the annual federal budget. No longer could congressional appropriators retreat to their committee rooms and tally their spending proposals on blackboards and then haggle with the tax committees about how they would be financed. A fancy budget procedure meant fancy economists, and fancy economists had fancy econometric models designed to predict how this or that tweak of the budget might raise inflation, lower employment or, heaven forbid, increase the deficit. Suddenly, any junior member with the wit to punch a calculator could rail against the deficit and present himself as an expert on economic policy.

Then there was Jimmy Carter, another well-intentioned man of the center, a governor who knew what it meant, by god, to balance the state budget. I think of him now as the first contemporary political leader to equate deficits with moral turpitude. True, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford talked a lot about fiscal conservatism, but it was Carter, campaigning in 1976 as the Washington outsider, who helped redefine the deficit as something more pernicious than the simple difference between what the government spent and collected in revenue each year.

And there was the peculiar behavior of the U.S. economy itself in the mid-to-late 1970s. Growth and labor productivity were stagnating and inflation, fueled partly, but not entirely, by two major oil price shocks, was rising rapidly. Economic historians know now that something fundamental changed the economies of all the industrialized countries beginning in 1973. They are still trying to figure out what.

At the time, however, the federal budget deficit, so newly prominent in the minds of journalists and politicians and Wall Street bond traders, became the convenient explanation for this so-called stagflation. By the time voters booted Carter out of office in 1980, economic and political journalists were reporting with completely straight faces that the deficit was responsible not only for the inflation, but also for the recession that the Federal Reserve Board engineered to bring the price spiral under control.

Paul Volcker, the powerful Fed chairman of the time and yet another good man of the center who surely knew this was economic nonsense, helped feed the deficit mythology. Cut the budget deficit, he told Congress, and I'll cut interest rates. He said it, the markets bought it, and we reported it, never questioning whether it made sense.

By the time Ronald Reagan, the Great Communicator, left office in 1988, the symbolic evil of deficit spending was so well established in the public mind that no politician in either party who hoped to see his next election dared question it. So complete was the twisted mythology, that Reagan's own complicity in adding hundreds of billions of dollars to the annual deficit and the national debt only enhanced his reputation as a champion of fiscal conservatism.

The good folks of the center who were left to pick up the pieces of the fiscal disaster deserve credit for their efforts during the late 1980s. But they had to make the rest of us captives of the deficit myth in order to do it. Enough already.

The fiscal challenges of the '90s are not the same as those of the '80s, and the popular rationale that federal budgets are the same as state budgets or family finances is no longer just simplistic; it is mindless in the face of a global economy.The middle ground is not the center anymore. It's a blind alley.

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by Steve Scott

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The California Dream has forever been shaped by a struggle between

powerful institutions seeking to bend it to their will and the individual power of utopian vision. But the real power is California itself.

"Those who dream by night, in the dusty recesses of their minds, wake in the day to find it was vanity. But the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act out their dream with open eyes, to make it possible."
— T.E. Lawrence
"Seven Pillars of Wisdom"

Throughout its history, California has been idealized as the home port for all "dreamers of the day." From the gold-frenzied "Big Bang" of 1848 to the Silicon Valley revolution of the 1990s, the legend of California is of a place where ingenuity, courage, ruthlessness, or some combination of the three can produce comfort and security beyond one's wildest imaginings. While European immigrants were drawn to America by the promise of "life and liberty," the magnet pulling Americans westward was "the pursuit of happiness." If the American Dream implied the search for a better life, the California Dream

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was a quest for the *best* life.

Like most legends, there is an essential truth at the core of this Homeric vision. A natural wonderland of staggering breadth, it has always seemed that every person could eventually find their Elysian Field within the state's expansive borders. Hidden in the shade of this towering mythology, however, is another, more complex truth, dispiriting in its pedestrian reality but also strangely exhilarating in its potential. The real story of the California Dream — past, present, and future — is a story about the clash between the instinctive barrier of self-protective isolationism and the irresistible force of immigration. It's a story of institutional authority which creates a dream for those it accepts while simultaneously crushing the dream for those it rejects. And it is a story of how individuals of vision can transcend the status quo's narrow confines to shape, sustain and advance the Dream.

It is a story about power.

The exercise, and withholding, of power shapes all human endeavors. Those who have power generally use it to amass more power and to keep others from horning in on their territory. Those without power either find a way to get some, or flow along in the undertow with the rest of the plankton. The power "haves" maintain and expand their empires through the development of institutions — businesses, utilities, labor unions, and governments. The power "have nots" can change their lot one of two ways — either through collective action (or reaction) or through the influence, inventiveness and imagination of visionaries — the power of the individual.

The exercise of coercive, institutional power to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker is hardly unique.

From the moment the first headline bleated of "GOLD!" in the American River, California has been a magnet for institutional power. In his book, "California: the Great Exception," Carey McWilliams quotes historian John W. Caughey's description of California as "the only place where a rush for gold was made to serve as the base for an ever-widening superstructure of attainment." Land speculators used statehood as a tool to wrest huge land grants away from their previous Mexican claimants, paving the way for large-scale, corporate agriculture. Millions more acres were gobbled up by the railroads, sold to them at bargain basement prices by a federal government driven by its "manifest destiny." Other industries followed suit. The oil booms of the 1890s and 1920s left sections of the southland crowded with oil wells, huge fields of skeletal stalagmites rising out of the flat Los Angeles basin. Uncle Sam claimed his share of the booty, turning California into the center of the defense industry. In Hollywood, a new kind of assembly line was stamping out miles of flickering images with profitable efficiency.

For these institutional powers, the California Dream was simply a tool with which to build their Colossus, used either to drum up a labor force or attract customers. Sunny climes and streets "paved with gold" lured laborers from East, West, North and South. Celluloid fantasies, crafted and censored by the studio bosses, left generations hypnotized by the glint of Tinseltown. And the expanse of California made it a natural place for the auto industry to test drive the revolution in personal independence provided by the private automobile. For most of these boom times, the institutional authority known as government was practically invisible, safely tucked under the wing of the financial interests which controlled the resources.

When government did emerge from the shadows, its role was generally that of grim reaper, assigned to banish those no longer welcome to share in the Dream. Almost unconsciously, many Californians developed an instinctive, frightening xenophobia, which forms a wrinkle of darkness in the state's mystique. Agitation against Chinese immigrants in the 1880s formed the basis of a strain of independence that characterizes voting patterns in the state. The Progressives of the early 20th century stained their legacy with the Alien Land Act, which forbade Japanese ownership of property. As state attorney general, future liberal hero Earl Warren was an active participant in the World War II internment of Japanese-Americans. Job-seeking Okies pouring into the state during the Depression were greeted with miserable conditions when there was work, and a cold shoulder when there wasn't.

Of course, the exercise of coercive, institutional power to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker is hardly unique. But here's where the magic comes in — for at least the first century and a third following statehood, the nobler, more heroic dream of California not only survived, but flourished. The power that shaped that dynamic has largely been "people power" — the immutable power of mass immigration and the individual power of influence, energy and innovation. While the institutional powers were busy building that "superstructure of attainment," individual power was laying the brick and mortar, painting the walls, giving the place its style.

Many of those nourishing the Dream used nothing more than the power of their own creativity and imagination. From Mark Twain to Brian Wilson, the artists and writers of California painted bright colors on the dreamscape. There were also others shining light into the darker corners — John Steinbeck, Upton Sinclair, Raymond Chandler. Individual filmmakers found ways around the false front of the studio system to project their own image of California. Grainy black-and-white images can't dim the sparkle of paradise unbound that shines from the locations which surround the comedies of Mack Sennett and Hal Roach. But there, balanced against the ebullience of sunshine was the darkness of *film noir*.

Each of these distinct sources of power — institutional and individual — have contributed to the concept we call the California Dream. Institutional power, flawed and oppressive as it could be, gave us a sense of strength and independence—we could get along without the rest of the country a whole lot easier than they could get along without us. Individual power, with all its diversity, gave us a sense of our identity and uniqueness as a people. But there's something missing. Believers in the California Dream seem to be able to tap into another power — a higher power, if you will — that allows them a sense not only of strength and identity, but a

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sense of limitless potential.

The source of that power is California herself.

Californians don't need a slogan, a song, or a picture to know they inhabit a special place. No matter how much we pave her, poach her, or plaster her with billboards, California's natural splendor survives. It's amazing enough that one state can have beaches, mountains, valleys, rivers, and deserts all within its borders. We not only have these natural attributes, but they're all spectacular. Our coastline is, by turns, rugged and sandy-smooth. Our mountains are Alpine in scope, and in good years, there's skiing in July. Our deserts are so rich and diverse that even they are candidates for special protection. And the climate ... well, you get the idea. California isn't just a nation-state, it's a nation, period.

The power of this expansive, if tarnished, Eden works on our collective unconscious, at once intimidating and liberating. California has always seemed big enough for everyone's dreams, even those of the most desperate and disaffected. No matter how aggressive sentiment ran against Japanese and Chinese immigrants and their descendants, they still built businesses and communities. Finding what writer Irving Stone calls "men to match my mountains" is the modern equivalent of the search for the Platonic ideal. But when individuals and institutions aspire to those heights, miracles happen. Consider:

- Theodore Judah: A railroad engineer who used his skill to chart a rail path through the Sierra. Judah's persistence and the backing of "the Big Four" turned that path into the Transcontinental Railroad.
- John Muir: The seminal preservationist who founded the Sierra Club, Muir found a kindred soul in Theodore Roosevelt, turning Yosemite into the first National Park.
- Hiram Johnson: Backed by a public tired of life under the yoke of the rail barons, Johnson fathered one of the most expansive avenues ever created for public expression — the popular initiative.
- Pat Brown: Making full use of his "bully pulpit," Brown brought water to Los Angeles through the California Aqueduct and built an education and transportation infrastructure that lasted for 30 years.
- Cesar Chavez: Built the United Farm Workers despite resistance from big agriculture and big labor.

What distinguishes these figures is their ability to marry the power of the institutions they serve with their own individual power and vision. In the English language, there is a word to describe this capacity for exercising power in service of a broader purpose.

Leadership.

Over the course of the *Journal's* year-long exploration of the California Dream, there have been a range of assessments about the current state of that dream. For many, the Dream is on life-support, robbed of its oxygen by overpopulation, racial tension, moral decay, and simple neglect. The lament common to nearly all of these considerations is for the paucity of leaders. Where are the Judahs, Muirs, Johnsons, and Browns of today or, more importantly, of tomorrow?

In some cases, it is simply the character of the men and women who occupy positions of authority. Those who pass for political leaders these days seem consumed by personal vanity, scooping up special-interest dollars and limiting their discourse to quick hits and race exploitation. Not much leadership there. And what about "the private sector?" While there are many who seem to have the qualities of leadership, none seem particularly interested in using their power for any purpose other than to amass more power.

The dearth of individual vision is compounded by an institutional hodgepodge which spends most of its time and energy repelling agents for change. The California of the mid-1940s was, according to McWilliams, "the giant adolescent [that] has been outgrowing its governmental clothes for 100 years." Today, California seems bent on just putting on layer after layer of new governmental garments, trying not to notice how hot and uncomfortable everything has become. State and local government spends half its time kissing up to business and the other half driving them out of the state. Many of those businesses, meanwhile, seem to have lost any sense of a California identity, bolting or threatening to bolt whenever one of our dustbag neighbors dangles a tax break.

Tucked within the fault lines and urban sprawl, there is still a "green and pleasant land" on which we may yet build our Jerusalem.

Why haven't those who hold the power stepped up to answer the call of leadership? Maybe it's because nobody's ringing the doorbell. For most of the past three decades, Californians, like the rest of Americans, have let their own "people power" go to seed. Whether it's because they don't have time or they're just apathetic, voters are staying away from the polls. Those that remain involved are treated to a steady diet of invective, intolerance, and political institutions that still seem maddeningly captive to special interests. Why would anyone of any intelligence or influence want to deal with a no-win mess like that?

Surprisingly, there is an answer: Because it's California. Tucked within the fault lines and urban sprawl, there is still a "green and pleasant land" on which we may yet build our Jerusalem. California may not be as limitless as it once was. The state's population has surpassed 30 million, and even the sprawling Los Angeles Basin has a maximum capacity. But no blanket of smog can hide the sight of a dynamic society exploding into its future with volcanic bursts, like a new island forming in the ocean. Numerous as we are, all 30 million of us are heirs to a resplendent vision of sunlit prosperity.

There's still enough of that prosperity to go around without rationing, but it won't come with mere wishing. Californians must decide if the Dream is still worth having. Do we want to live in a special place, or are we content to exist as just one of 50, downsizing our vision to match the Wyomings of the world? To aspire for something more, we must all become "dreamers of the day," exploring the future with eyes and hearts wide open. The power of California makes the Dream possible. The power of Californians can make it a reality.

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Partial List of Speakers for Fall 1995

Zero Emissions Vehicles Mandate
Patrick Kennedy, *Sacramento Metropolitan Utilities District*
Mark Timmerman, *California Manufacturers Association*

Charter School Expansion
Chuck Giarratana, *California Teachers Association*
Patty Quate, *Senate Republican Caucus*

Prison Chain Gangs
David Wellenbrock, *San Joaquin County Deputy DA*
Frank Prantil, *Prisoner's Rights Union*

Minimum Wage
Senator Hilda Solis, *California State Senate*
Julie Broyles, *California Chamber of Commerce*

Affirmative Action
Reginald Fair, *Dymally Earnest and Fair*
Max Raynor, *Office of Assemblyman Bernie Richter*

Supermajority Requirement for School Bonds
Bob Blattner, *School Services of California*
Ted Costa, *People's Advocates*

Medical Testing on Animals
Terry Barnardo, *California Association of Veterinarians*
Laurie Paoli, *California BioMedical Research Association*

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1970 25 1995
Public Service Journalism

Dream Makers

Twenty-five Californians with the power, influence and ideas to shape the dream for generations to come.

There will always be a California Dream. As long as men and women have imagination and ambition and a willingness to risk, California will endure as an El Dorado on the far edge of a still-restless continent. The texture and shape of that dream may not always remain the same, but the notion of California as a place of golden fulfillment will abide — just as the notion of the Dream itself has stood for more than three centuries. The Dream has meant different things to different people throughout the years, but always they come, seeking in one form or another a wealth and success not available elsewhere. California has served as El Dorado for succeeding generations of natives, immigrants and settlers — for Modocs and Spanish missionaries; for '49er gold panners and Chinese railroad workers;

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for makers of movies and builders of Liberty ships and heavy bombers and all the welders and riveters and soldiers who passed through her gates; for techno-wizards and braceros and all those fleeing poverty and oppression and stagnation in a dozen places from El Salvador to Cambodia to Bosnia.

The dream will abide.

The reality, however, is very different. The reality is ever-more-crowded cities teeming with the poor and ill-educated. The reality is overburdened schools, violent streets, ethnic and lingual tribalism, fertile farmland disappearing beneath expanding suburbs, a soiled environment, patched and worn highways, shrinking water supplies and a dangerous economic gap between the haves and have nots in California society. The reality, too, is a distrust of and cynicism about government and its ability to maintain the very building blocks upon which individuals craft their own versions of the California Dream. And the reality also is fear about the fast-paced nature of change in modern life and the ability of society as a whole to adapt to change without leaving chunks of that society behind.

How the California Dream evolves as we approach the 21st century will be influenced by a myriad of actors, not the least of whom are those with the power, influence and vision to help shape the future. Every generation has produced individuals of power and vision, from Junipero Serra to John Sutter to Hiram Johnson to Henry Kaiser to D.W. Griffith to Cesar Chavez to Pat Brown.

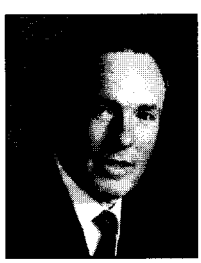
California Journal editors have conducted many interviews over the past few months in an attempt to identify the Californians who may influence these new dreams. We do not assume this list is comprehensive; in fact, there are some major gaps. For instance, we could identify no one person or entity in the area of agriculture or water. There is only one journalist, and she edits a Spanish-language newspaper. No one from the "education establishment" is included. A preponderance of those on the list are white males, which may be more a reflection of the past than of the future. But from the vantage point of the late 20th century, Anglo California still controls the power structure. It will not be so 100 years from now.

We assume, therefore, that this list will not serve as an end point, but as a touchstone for debate about the future. Here, then, are brief profiles of the 25 men and women who will have a great impact on the future of the California dream.

— A.G. Block

Donald Bren

CEO, The Irvine Company



Forget for a moment Orange County's fiscal troubles. In terms of private enterprise, the county still is a California powerhouse. And one company dominates the economy of Orange County — the Irvine Company, 90 percent of which is controlled by Donald Bren.

The company owns one-sixth of the county, including 50,000 acres of land scheduled for development over the next 30 years in an area swimming in entrepreneurial testosterone. That translates into enormous wealth and clout. And Bren, 63, sits at the vortex, his personal fortune estimated at more than $2 billion, which ranks him 35th on *Fortune's* list of the 400 richest people in America. The marriage of Bren's wealth with his willingness to dabble in politics rank him near the top of those with the ability to shape the California dream.

But more than wealth and political dabbling contribute to Bren's influence. The 1990s has evolved into an era of gonzo, confrontational politics between tribes, where contact with another tribe — much less, compromise — is a sign of weakness. But Bren and his company have been flexible, willing to sit down with potential adversaries to craft solutions beneficial to all. For instance, back in 1992 the company formed an alliance with The Nature Conservancy which ceded control to the conservancy over 17,000 acres of undeveloped company land, with the company paying more than $400,000 in management costs. Bren parlayed that agreement into "environmental mitigation credits" to be applied to development plans on less environmentally sensitive land.

Bren's bank account — and his company's long history of political activism — make him a political mover and shaker of cosmic proportions, even though he has expended personal sweat on behalf of only three candidates: George Bush, Pete Wilson and Houston Flournoy. And his experiences with Bush were less than satisfying, not because the former president abandoned California in 1992 but because his administration turned a deaf ear to Bren's warnings about the depth of California's economic problems during 1990 and 1991. Bren and Wilson have been a political tag team since 1975, when Wilson sought re-election as mayor of San Diego, and Bren — the biggest developer in Southern California — backed the effort in the face of vociferous opposition from other developers opposed to Wilson's policies on the control of urban growth. Bren subsequently played a major role in various Wilson campaigns, including serving as finance chairman for the governor's ill-fated run at the presidency earlier this year.

Bren grew up in the kind of affluence and glitz that the movie industry provided back in the 1930s and '40s. His father, Milton Bren, was a movie producer who also invested in real estate, including the Sunset Strip. In 1948, Bren's father married one of Hollywood's most enduring actresses — Claire Trevor. Donald Bren was 12 years old when Trevor became his stepmother, and their relationship has remained close ever since. The family's social circle included the likes of Humphrey Bogart and John Wayne.

After graduating from the University of Washington and serving as a Marine Corps officer in the 1950s, Bren became a home builder in Orange County. In 1977 he formed a group of investors that bought the Irvine Company from the Irvine family foundation for $337 million, besting well-heeled suitors such as Mobil Oil. For the past 18 years, Bren's drive and vision have made Irvine Company one of the wealthiest and most innovative developers in the country. Along the way, the company has contributed thousands of dollars to politicians at every level of government, as well as to initiative campaigns. Its willingness to do this should continue his clout long into the next century.

— A.G. Block

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Willie Brown Jr.

Democratic powerhouse

Willie Lewis Brown Jr.'s political career, by any measure, has been extraordinary. His 15-year gig as speaker of the Assembly had a profound impact on that institution by substantially increasing the influence of monied special interests on the legislative process, politicizing staff to a degree not seen under his predecessors and helping to create a cynicism among the voting public that led eventually to the success of Proposition 140 — the 1990 term-limit initiative that has jarred the power equation throughout California politics. Brown's speakership was entirely about power, and his ability to hold and exercise it. But it also provided an atmosphere for his members to pursue political agendas far more substantive than Brown's in such areas as education, health care, civil rights, business and the environment.

Brown will leave the Legislature at the latest next winter, when term limits bring to a close an Assembly career that began back in 1964. He already has relinquished the speakership and now serves only as titular head of the Assembly's minority Democratic caucus. Thus his authority inside the legislative arena already is on the wane.

But Willie Brown will not go quietly into oblivion. The source of his power has always been his intelligence and charisma, and earlier this year, the 61-year-old lawmaker invested those assets in the race for mayor of his hometown — San Francisco. Last month, he and incumbent Mayor Frank Jordan reached a run off scheduled for December 12th, and it was widely anticipated that Brown would win that run off.

But whether he wins or loses as mayor of San Francisco, Willie Brown Jr. will continue to be a force in public life — a destiny that does not so much depend upon his own electoral success as on the declining fortunes of the Democratic Party. It is a party adrift, buffeted by the insecurity and uncertainty brought on by a national identity crisis. Its traditional coalition of constituencies — labor, the poor, minorities, the middle class — has been tribalized, with segments of it wooed away by the Reagan revolution and by a changing economy that often pits one constituency against another for a diminishing pie of resources.

As a result, the party, especially in California, has effectively been leaderless. There have been pretenders, of course; one of whom — Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer — is profiled elsewhere in this magazine. And there is a group of statewide officeseekers and officeholders who aspired to the mantle, such as 1994 gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, Controller Kathleen Connell and the state's two U.S. senators — Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein. But none of them combine the flair, charisma and sheer political smarts embodied in Willie Brown. If he wins in San Francisco, Brown becomes one of the most important urban mayors in the nation, if for no other reason than he will make himself so. He also will be in a position to rally Democrats. But even if he loses, Brown could turn his formidable energies and talents into revitalizing the Democratic Party. After all, if not Willie, who else?

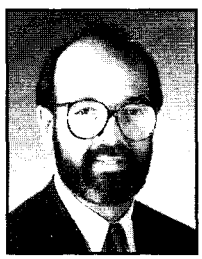
— A.G. Block

POWER

James E. Burton

California Public Employees' Retirement System

In 1992, the California Public Employees' Retirement System had an investment portfolio that topped out at $67 billion. Today, it's worth more than $93 billion. As the nation's largest public pension fund — and the third largest in the world — CalPERS boasts more than enough resources and clout to invest in the California Dream.



One of the most important benefits CalPERS can provide to its members is health-care coverage, and as health reform moves into the center spotlight of national issues, CalPERS has forged ahead as a model of successful group purchasing. Among its other accomplishments, the group has managed to keep members' premiums significantly lower than the national averages; both the group's financing and organizational skills have since been lauded from coast to coast.

Initially, Tom Elkin, CalPERS' chief negotiator for the health-benefits division, was the one who dealt with health plan carriers and juggled the numbers. But Elkin has left, and the future has been left to James E. Burton, the chief executive officer of CalPERS. Burton has never been in the public eye like Elkin, or any of the 13 prominent members of CalPERS' Board of Administration, such as State Controller Kathleen Connell and board President William Crist. But Burton's far from being a dormant figurehead. His job is to do the work and report back to the board.

Burton's job, of course, is much broader than was Elkin's, but Burton still oversees the health-benefits division. In addition, Burton is working to fill someone else's shoes — those left by previous CalPERS chief executive officer Dale Hanson. Hanson, who has widely been credited with making CalPERS into the financial and political powerhouse it is today, left CalPERS at the end of 1994 to start his own company. Burton, who was then the assistant executive officer of investment operations, got the job.

It may be a little surprising to learn that Burton's only been with CalPERS since 1992; still, he is no stranger to numbers. He served as executive director of the Commission on State Finance and as deputy chief of staff to former Governor Jerry Brown. He also served as deputy state controller. Burton says that his goal is to make CalPERS the premiere customer service organization in the nation, and he keeps busy with a host of projects with that goal in mind. His dream is to pave the way for the future — the next five to 25

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years of growth for CalPERS. There are challenges ahead — new technology, growing membership, an increase in the number of retirees as the "baby boomer" generation grows older. Burton wants to ensure that CalPERS is ready for that boom, and will do business in the most efficient, cost-effective way possible.

— Kirsten Mangold

James Clark

Chairman, Netscape Communications

A dozen years ago, cyberspace was little more than the defining concept in a genre of dark science fiction. Today, it's the hottest real estate around, enough to make Wall Street investors lose all sense of proportion, attract thousands of salivating businesses, and keep even ordinary computer users glued to their desktop monitors for hours.

At the heart of this boom is Netscape Communications, which provides 70 percent of the software that turned the sprawling world-wide computer network from a daunting maze of esoteric operating codes into a colorful, comparatively user-friendly world. Now open to anyone with a computer and a modem, the Internet is the new West, and the Mountain View-based company is laying down the railroad lines.

As a result, many analysts say, Netscape is poised to become the next Microsoft, providing the standard tool in a world where life on the Internet's World Wide Web is as ubiquitous as today's personal computer. At the head of the company is Silicon Graphics co-founder James Clark, who has pushed the still-young enterprise into a fantastic market share and an unprecedented stock offering — which put the value of the firm in the improbably high billions of dollars.

Clark's strategy thus far has been to give away much of the company's basic software. This means that the majority of Web programmers design their products to be viewed with the Netscape browser, and the program has quickly become a standard. The company has recently begun to sell the browser software at retail outlets, and sells software to businesses that wish to make content available to Internet users. The company is also using the funds from their stock release to invest in other high-tech enterprises.

Clark came to the computer industry from the academic world. After receiving degrees in physics and a doctorate in computer science from the University of Utah, he taught for nearly a decade at the University of California, Santa Cruz and at Stanford. He left the Palo Alto institution in 1981 to found Silicon Graphics, which later became an industry powerhouse in multi-media technology.

Netscape was born after Clark left Silicon Graphics in early 1994 to woo Mark Andreesson, the University of Illinois student who designed an earlier popular Web browsing program, into forming a company to produce the student's work. Andreesson brought along a handful of other programmers, and the Netscape program quickly supplanted the students' previous efforts on-line.

There are plenty of competitors trying to edge into Netscape's business. Microsoft provided a browsing program with its Windows 95 release, and others are hawking their own versions. But with an intimidating market share, and a brand name that is quickly becoming the Internet's Xerox, Netscape appears set on the path to staying power.

— John Borland

David Dreier

Chairman, House Task Force on California

The San Gabriel Valley isn't exactly the hotbed of California Republican politics; not like, say, Garden Grove, which has produced GOP caucus leaders in both houses of the Legislature *and* California's longest-surviving state presidential candidate. But the valley is home to one of the national GOP's rising stars — Congressman David Dreier.

Now 43, Dreier was first elected to Congress back in 1980 at the tender age of 28. As a member of the minority party, the mediagenic lawmaker spent his first 14 years toiling in the wilderness, a one-note conservative whose lyric was "deregulation." Along the way, Dreier accumulated a sizeable campaign treasury — $2.28 million, at last report — and the notice of GOP poohbahs who relied on what the *Los Angeles Times* called Dreier's "enthusiastic, let-me-do-it attitude" and his consistent conservative ideology.

Dreier's life changed after the election of 1994 when Republicans seized control of Congress and the House entered the "Era of Newt." Gingrich, that is. Dreier is a close confidant to the new speaker, and that access makes him the most powerful Californian in Congress, with the ability to shape federal policy toward his home state. He is a member of the Republican Steering Committee, which decides committee assignments for all members. He also is vice chairman of the House Rules Committee, the job Dreier himself considers his most important. The committee holds sway over the flow of legislation to the floor. Under Gingrich's auspices, Dreier also chaired a committee designed to overhaul the House committee system.

But perhaps most significant for California, Dreier serves as chairman of a special task force on California created by Gingrich. According to news reports at the time of Dreier's appointment last January, the committee will be "championing legislation dealing directly with the Golden State." It marked the first time a special congressional task force had been formed for a single state, reported the *Los Angeles Times*, and no plans were afoot to create one for any other state. Gingrich said at the time that California was the key to the nation's future and the panel was designed to respond to its needs.

California, of course, also has 52 representatives in the House and often serves as a bellweather for political trends,

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and keeping close tabs on the state and providing largesse that is politically beneficial to Republicans won't hurt the Gingrich revolution. As one of the principal men-on-the-barricades in that revolution, Dreier has influence at the federal level that could seep all through California for years to come.

— A.G. Block

Michael Eisner

Chairman, Walt Disney Company

Mention "the California Dream" to any grownup, and you're likely to hear a misty recounting of travels to some special place — a sun-splashed beach, a thrillingly steep ski run, perhaps a quiet bed-and-breakfast in the wine country. But for a kid, particularly one who was growing up in the 1950s and '60s, Ground Zero of the California Dream is a few acres of wondrous territory tucked in a benign enclave known as Anaheim. There could be no other place for Disneyland except California, and founder Walt Disney's place in shaping the dreams of generations is assured. But 40 years later, the Disney legacy has metastasized beyond even Walt's grandiose imaginings, and his company has become "the happiest (and most profitable) place on earth" for Chairman and CEO Michael Eisner.

If nothing else, the sheer scope of Eisner's "Magic Kingdom" qualifies him as a force shaping California's future. There's Movieland (wildly successful animated and family films coupled with successful offshoots, Touchstone and Hollywood Pictures), Videoland (the rationed re-release of Disney classics on video), Televisionland (now proud owner of ABC), Mall-land (a string of Disney stores peddling clothes and other Mickey memorabilia), Sportsland (owner of an NHL hockey team and major stockholder in the California Angels), and Theme-parkland (with expansions of Anaheim and Florida parks on the horizon), just to name a few. Eisner is so powerful that former super-agent Michael Ovitz, once dubbed "the most powerful man in Hollywood," now works for him.

A voracious corporate appetite is not the only quality that distinguishes Eisner. Like his company's namesake, Eisner is not afraid to throw the dice, and even his crap-outs are spectacular; witness the much-maligned EuroDisney and the abandoned DisneyAmerica project in Virginia. Another trait Eisner shares with Disney is a drive to stamp his name on everything the company does, from producing a new movie to rolling out a new ride at Disneyland.

Although he was born and raised in comfort, Eisner's rise to the top has a distinctly familiar ring. The Lawrenceville, New York native got his media start as a clerk at NBC in the mid-1960s, eventually moving over to ABC — the network his company now owns. Working his way up in the ABC programming department, Eisner supervised development of such shows as "Happy Days," "Barney Miller," and "Laverne and Shirley." In the mid-1970s, he was named president and chief operating officer of Paramount Pictures, overseeing such blockbusters as "Raiders of the Lost Ark" and "Saturday Night Fever." After arriving at Disney in 1984, Eisner, along with the late Frank Wells and the now-departed Jeffrey Katzenberg, engineered the revival of Disney's animation franchise and its live-action productions.

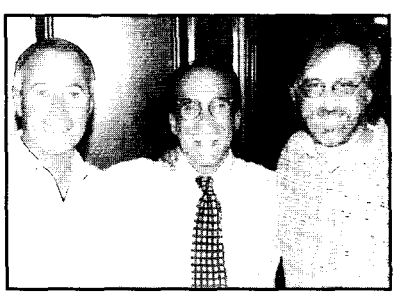
Eisner is not considered a long-range strategist, lacking Walt's creative vision. He makes up for that with a drawing power that enables him to attract people like Ovitz. Add that power to a laser-intense competitiveness, and Michael Eisner seems well positioned to protect Disney's hold on the imaginations of children and the wallets of their parents.

— Steve Scott

David Geffen, Jeffrey Katzenberg, Steven Spielberg

The Dream [Works] Team

What do you have when the world's most successful film director, the world's most successful record-company executive, and one of the world's top studio executives get together to form a new entertainment conglomerate? Three men and an 800-pound baby gorilla. Even before it had a name, DreamWorks SKG had staked out its lane on the gilded superhighway of California's most visible industry. With television production deals, a new record label, and an animation studio in the works, DreamWorks stands to go toe-to-toe with Walt Disney Company in the battle for market share of the collective national imagination. The men responsible for this maelstrom in the making are DreamWorks' founding partners: Steven Spielberg, David Geffen, and Jeffrey Katzenberg.



In a town where lunch is "done" and movies are "projects," DreamWorks is the ultimate Hollywood deal — three superstar moguls joining forces to create their own empire. But DreamWorks is more than just a merger of bankable names. Each of the partners has formed their own special avenue to the nation's subconscious and, in the process, embellished and exported a piece of the Dream.

In terms of raw celebrity wattage, the kahuna of the three

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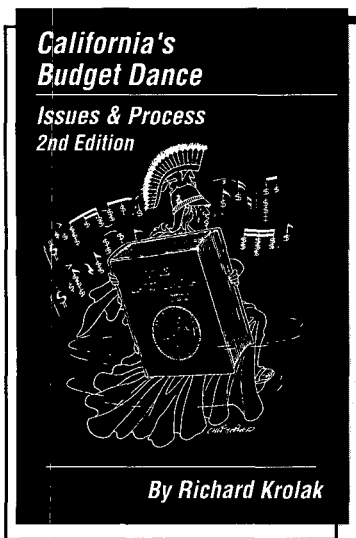
is the 48-year-old Spielberg, the director with the Midas touch. Coming into prominence during an era of cinematic "realism," Spielberg and fellow upstart George Lucas drew their inspiration from dream weavers of Hollywood's "Golden Age." While others in the 1970s sought to make "films," Spielberg made "movies" — "Jaws," "E.T.," "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," "Raiders of the Lost Ark" — combining technical wizardry with a gift for selling a good yarn. In 1993, the year his *Jurassic Park* became the highest-grossing movie in history, Spielberg won an Academy Award for his haunting saga of the Holocaust, "Schindler's List."

While Spielberg was busy transforming what we watched, 52-year-old David Geffen was influencing our listening habits. Beginning as a talent scout, Geffen formed Asylum Records in 1971, helping to create "the California Sound" with acts like the Eagles and Jackson Browne. After selling Asylum, Geffen went on to build an even bigger empire with Geffen Records, landing acts like John Lennon, Elton John and Aerosmith. His DGC offshoot brought Geffen into the '90s, launching such acts as Nirvana, Counting Crows, Weezer and Hole. Geffen has also scored as a movie producer, credits including "Risky Business" and "Beetlejuice."

Riding shotgun for the dream makers is 44-year-old Jeffrey Katzenberg, the dream facilitator. The quintessential "young man in a hurry," Katzenberg tore up the ranks at Paramount Pictures in the late 1970s, winding up as president of production. When fellow Paramount exec Michael Eisner jumped to Disney in 1984, Katzenberg came along, becoming a central figure in the studio's stunning renaissance. Passed over by Eisner for the number two job at Disney last year, Katzenberg signed on with Geffen and Spielberg, and runs DreamWorks' day-to-day operations.

After a fast start, DreamWorks has settled into the hard business of empire-building, steadily amassing new talent and developing ideas for their studio. In an ironic twist, the company's main project is fulfillment of a $100 million joint venture with Cap Cities/ABC, recently swallowed up by archrival Disney. While DreamWorks is still more promise than product, the whole world is watching.

— Steve Scott



Revised
California's Budget Dance
Issues and Process
2nd Edition
By Richard Krolak

California's $57 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. Education, taxation, environmental protection, transportation, social services, local government support — you name it and the budget addresses it. But the process is complicated, often seeming murky to the uninitiated.

The solution is *California's Budget Dance*, a 150-page book that describes the state's economic environment and the budget process.

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Stanton Glantz

Anti-tobacco researcher/activist

Talk to a Californian who's traveled out of state recently, and it won't be long before you hear something like this: "I couldn't believe how much people were smoking there." Over the past decade, the Golden State has become America's no-smoking section. Rates of tobacco use among adults have steadily declined, and local governments have become ever-bolder in their efforts to limit indoor smoking. Moreover, California voters are now conditioned to mistrust anyone or anything connected with the tobacco industry. By most accounts, California is five to 10 years ahead of the nation in its pursuit of a smoke-free society.

For most of the last two decades, virtually every road leading toward the smoke-free utopia has passed through the cramped San Francisco office of a tousle-haired argonaut of the anti-tobacco movement. Stanton Glantz, a cardiology professor at the University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine, has become the hornet tobacco companies can't shake. More than any other single individual, Glantz can claim credit for transforming the debate about smoking from a discussion of health to one about social acceptability.

As a researcher, the 49-year-old Glantz has been prolific, ranging in scope from straightforward studies of the health effects of smoking to exposing a pro-tobacco bias in the children's publication *Weekly Reader*. A measure of his power is evidenced by the efforts of tobacco allies in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., who have intervened to cut off funding for his studies of the industry's political contributions. What truly sets Glantz apart, however, is his fearless, peripatetic activism, which exhausts friend and foe alike. Relentlessly self-promoting, Glantz knows how to push the news media's buttons, and is not afraid to criticize would-be allies in the anti-tobacco movement when he thinks they're wimping out.

The path which led Glantz to his anti-smoking crusade is fittingly unconventional. After earning an aerospace engineering degree from the University of Cincinnati, the Cleveland, Ohio native first went to work for NASA where, among other things, he helped investigate the Apollo One capsule fire which killed three astronauts. His interest in the mechanics of the human heart eventually led him to Stanford, where he earned a post-doctoral degree in cardiology. Eventually, he joined the cardiology faculty at UCSF, where he has published several books and papers on cardiology, biomedical engineering, and

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biostatistics.

His appetite for the battle against tobacco was whetted when he helped out with an unsuccessful 1978 initiative on indoor smoking. During the 1980s, he served as president of the Berkeley-based Americans for Non-Smokers Rights, facilitating the first of several local anti-smoking ordinances. After the passage of the 1988 cigarette-tax initiative, Proposition 99, Glantz became one of the more forceful voices against state efforts to siphon that tax money away from anti-tobacco education and research.

Last year, Glantz stepped into the full glare of the national spotlight when he stage-managed the release of thousands of pages of internal documents from the Brown and Williamson tobacco company. The documents showed that tobacco companies had evidence of nicotine's addictive properties as far back as 1963. The Brown and Williamson documents have made Glantz a sought-after witness for federal health regulators, and a sought-after consultant for local anti-tobacco efforts around the country. If California continues its steady march toward a smokeless society, Stan Glantz' impact on attitudes in California and the nation seems assured.

— Steve Scott

Andrew Grove

CEO, Intel Corporation

An ancient view of humanity once attributed thought to the presence of a tiny person inside everyone's head. Today, the legend has been more accurately transferred to our computers, and the internal gnome — ubiquity intact — has collapsed into an Intel microchip. The Santa Clara-based manufacturer provides the silicon brains to 80 percent of the world's personal computers, and many analysts say it is on track to outstrip Exxon Corporation as the most profitable business entity on the planet.

Much of the company's success can be traced to its visionary chief executive officer, Andrew Grove. Since his installation in 1987, Intel's revenues have grown sixfold, and the company has jumped from tenth in the industry to a virtually unchallenged number one. He is an intense man, often described as "paranoid" about competition. He envisions the Intel chip as a standard for PC manufacturers, and is gradually pushing the company to incorporate more and more hardware functions into the chip itself, terrifying other hardware builders. The company is certainly an economic powerhouse, producing jobs and tax revenue. But as Grove's visions are realized, its effect on the future of the state will rest much more in pushing the limits of what can be done with the boxes on our desktops.

Intel's past and present success has been built on one overriding strategy: to effectively corner the market on fast, large-scale production microchips. As chips get faster and more powerful, capital costs to design and build the next generation skyrocket, making it increasingly difficult for new companies to enter the market. Intel rode ahead of this curve with a series of risky but fantastically successful bets in the late 1980s and early 1990s, sinking billions of dollars into new plants and designs.

But Grove's attention is now ranging far outside the comparatively straightforward business of chip-making. For some time he has been focusing on the worlds of communication and PC-based entertainment, speaking to Hollywood types and communications executives — and to customers — to figure out how best to expand the role of computers in these areas. Under his leadership, Intel has quietly branched into a programming role, and has already created applications for videoconferenceing and television feeds.

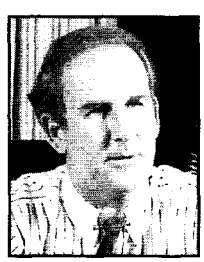
Grove differs a bit from the typical Silcon Valley mold. Born Andras Grof in Hungary in 1936, he came to the United States in 1957 after the Soviets quashed a revolt in his country. He earned a chemical engineering degree while living with an uncle in New York's Bronx, and then moved to the University of California, Berkeley, for a doctorate. Upon graduating, he joined a small startup company manned by one of the developers of the integrated circuit. The heads of this firm soon left and began what would become Intel, taking Grove with them. He worked as an engineer for a time, and then as director of operations; his interests turned to management, and in 1987 was named president and chief executive officer of the company.

Analysts predict that the explosive growth of personal computers and other electronic will fuel a microchip shortage over the next decade. With its market share and capital investments already in place, Intel is positioned to ride this demand to even greater heights.

— John Borland

Rob Hurtt

Republican kingmaker



There is an old French proverb that says, "The rich need not beg a welcome." And so it was with Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt — wealthy businessman, Republican legislator, conservative ideologue. Hurtt didn't beg for anything. He elbowed his way in — the political version of former Chicago Bulls center Bill Cartwright, whose career was marked by a take-no-prisoners style and a willingness to bounce an elbow off an opponent's chin. Hurtt is not a graceful and gentlemanly politician, but then, politics is not a graceful and gentlemanly sport.

Hurtt's overriding aim is Republican control of the Legislature, and he has combined personal wealth with a pragmatic strategy to bring his party tantalizingly close to that goal. The source of Hurtt's wealth is his business — Container Supply Company, located in Orange County. The source of his pragmatism is an ability to glean nuggets of political wisdom from baptismal forays into elective politics. Although deeply conservative, the 51-year-old lawmaker has shown a

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willingness to back moderate candidates in areas where conservatives do not fit district profiles. And he has been willing to spend freely from his own wallet to elect those candidates. That gives him enormous personal influence once those candidates become legislators — whether they totally buy into his anti-tax, anti-regulation, anti-abortion philosophy or not. And as long as a majority of his caucus is conservative, the moderates won't matter anyway. Thus, Hurtt controls the agenda by controlling a majority of the majority — once Republicans attain 21 seats in the upper house.

Hurtt first gained notice back in 1990 when a group he helped found — Allied Business PAC — began bankrolling conservative candidates around the state (see "Danielle Madison," page 23). A shadowy backroom banker with ties to the Christian conservatives and anti-abortion groups, Allied in 1992 became much more active but also suffered some hard lessons; notably the effort to elect conservative Brad Parton, who lost an Assembly race to Democrat Debra Bowen in suburban Los Angeles despite a huge influx of cash from Allied. Unlike conservative bankers of the past, Hurtt learned from the experience and since has backed moderates in areas where conservatives stood no chance.

Hurtt stepped out from the shadows in 1993 when he won a special Senate election. Already a behind-the-scenes power by virtue of his bankroll, his willingness to spend on candidates also moved him to the forefront of legislative leadership. As the Senate Republican caucus morphed from moderate to conservative, Hurtt became the focal point for those in the caucus who wanted to be more confrontational in the legislative arena and more aggressive in the political arena. In August 1995, after barely two years in office, Hurtt ousted longtime minority leader Ken Maddy, thus consolidating political and legislative clout in his own hands. As power migrates from the Assembly to the Senate in this era of term limits, and as Republicans come closer to their goal of controlling both houses of the Legislature, the potential for Hurtt to accumulate power is enormous. And unlike Willie Brown Jr. (see page 15), who used leadership primarily to preserve his own position, Hurtt will use it to alter the face of California government.

— A.G. Block

Earvin Johnson Jr.

CEO, Magic Johnson Enterprises

His life has been the stuff of dreams and nightmares. The dream of his life emerged when, still a teenager, he brought an NCAA basketball championship to his hometown of Lansing, Michigan. In succeeding years, he became the most recognized athlete in the

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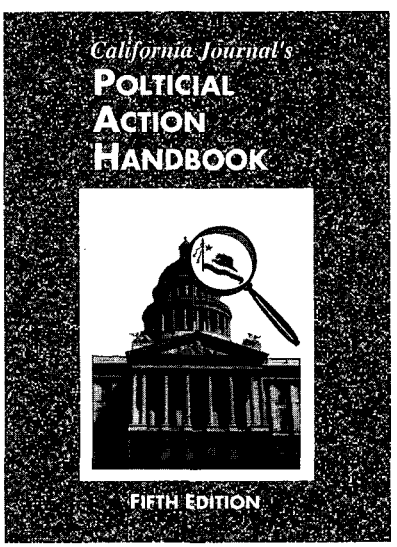

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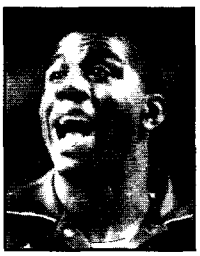
country, one of a handful of personalities who transcend sport and are indentified by but a single name — in his case, "Magic." His talent, drive and charm revitalized professional basketball during the decade of the 1980s, bringing championship after championship to his adoptive hometown — Los Angeles.

The nightmare descended on Earvin Johnson Jr. in 1992, when he revealed to a stupified nation that he had been infected with the HIV virus. For all practical purposes, the athletic career that nourished his life had ended.



What did not end, however, was his talent, drive and charm — and his ambition. He simply turned those assets in other directions, proving to himself and to the world at large that he was not one-dimensional. His ambition was to succeed in business. But even this aspiration was not one-dimensional, for Johnson did not want simply to amass a fortune in whatever time remained to him. He also wanted to give something back to the community that had nurtured him. Thus, when Earvin Johnson began to invest his money, he invested chunks of it in minority neighborhoods often shunned by other investors and entrepreneurs. As columnist James Flanigan recently wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, "capital formation ... is the new key to the American Dream."

Johnson has not shied away from politics, either. Regarded as conservative, he recently lent his name to a $150-per-head fund raiser for Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, although Johnson insisted it was not an endorsement. He personally did not attend the event.

Johnson, of course, is not alone in his efforts to revitalize inner-city enclaves. There is Mark Whitlock, a former banker who heads a small-loan program called FAME Renaissance. And there is John Bryant's Operation Hope. But Johnson is the larger-than-life personality who brings the spotlight to these endeavors.

The most recent evidence of Johnson's involvement was the opening this past summer of a 12-theater movie complex in the Crenshaw district. He also has entered into a joint venture with CalPERS to develop $50 million worth of retail property in urban areas that are heavily minority and have been bypassed by other developers (See "James Burton," page 15). Nor is his community involvement confined to the world of finance and business. This past October, it was announced that Johnson had pledged $5 million toward construction of a new West Angeles Church on Crenshaw Boulevard. The church's current facility accomodates only 1200 of the 15,000-person congregation. Actor Denzel Washington pledged another $2.5 million. Johnson also has invested in minority neighborhoods outside California as well, including a retail development in North Las Vegas, Nevada, a bottling plant in Maryland and theater complexes planned for Washington, D.C., Atlanta and other urban centers in the Midwest and East.

"Instead of talking, I put my money where my mouth is," Johnson told freelance writer Bruce Newman earlier this year in a piece that ran in *Los Angeles Times Magazine*. "We have a lot of successful and powerful African Americans, but sometimes we spend money outside our own neighborhoods. And the only way we're going to rebuild our neighborhoods is if we invest in them ourselves."

— *A.G. Block*

David Lawrence

CEO, Kaiser Permanente

POWER

Health, wealth and happiness — not only is the adage an age-old description of the "secret of life," but it's also become an integral part of the California Dream.

With over six-and-a-half million members in 16 states and the District of Columbia, there's little doubt that Kaiser Foundation Health Plan is a leader in the health-plan industry. It's not a stretch to say that the rest of the nation watches what Kaiser does in the field.

As an organization, Kaiser Permanente evolved from industrial health-care programs for construction, shipyard and steel mill workers for the Kaiser industrial companies during the late 1930s and 1940s. Today, over five million of its members are in California. A non-profit organization, as it always has been, Kaiser is known for its innovative programs and extensive care, not to mention its sheer size.

In California, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan and Kaiser Foundation Hospitals are split into two districts commonly known as Kaiser North and Kaiser South. At the head of both of them is David Lawrence, the 55-year-old chief executive officer. Board-certified in general preventative medicine, Lawrence joined Kaiser Permanente in 1981 as vice president and area medical director of the Northwest Permanente Medical Group. After a few short stints serving the organization in Colorado and Oregon, he moved to Oakland in 1988 to become senior vice president and regional manager of Kaiser North. In 1990, he became chief operating officer and vice chairman of the board, and a year later he was named chief executive officer.

California has been the perfect environment for the organization to grow — not only is the population booming, but the state is receptive to medical research, publication and expansion. Lawrence is fiercely proud of his charge; he says that Kaiser is "one of the few organizations that has successfully married the important perspective of practicing health care professionals with the managing resources that are necessary for health care."

He talks of his big dreams for the organization, including expansions into California communities that are currently without health care. "As we go through the turmoil in the health-care industry and in the economy that we can expect in the next 10 or 20 years, it is critical that we have a healthy group of citizens and workforce," says Lawrence. "Kaiser is continuing to set the standards for how care can be delivered at the highest quality for people. That's something we've been doing for 50 years."

Lawrence, a graduate of the University of Kentucky College of Medicine in Lexington, came to Kaiser with a long history of management and public health. He was also a man of the world — he went to the Dominican Republic with the Peace Corps; spent time in Washington, D.C. training other

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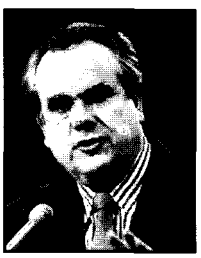
physicians for foreign assignments; and spent two years as an adviser on health planning to Chile's minister of health. Today, he and his wife live in Piedmont, where they still have two children in high school, and he doesn't seem to miss the jet-set life at all. "I love my job," he says, with real emotion. "It's the most exciting and fulfilling job in American medicine."

— Kirsten Mangold

Bill Lockyer

State Senate President pro Tempore



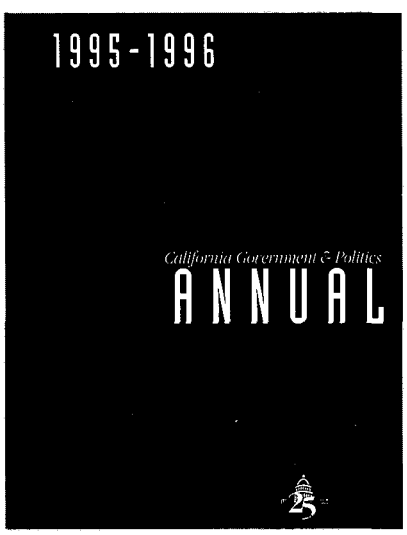
One of the more remarkable factoids to emerge from last year's Republican election stampede came when national legislative and congressional elections were analyzed. It turns out that in states west of the Mississippi, only two Republican incumbents were unseated. Two. One of those unseated incumbents was California state Senator Phil Wyman of Tehachapi. The man whose prolific fund raising helped sink Wyman is the man who has become, in all likelihood, the most powerful Democrat in California — Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward).

Given the current swing of the national political pendulum, Lockyer is much more than just another partisan power broker. As the leader of the only branch of state government not controlled by the GOP, Lockyer commands the Democrats' last redoubt against the Republican agenda. Holding that line casts Lockyer as defender of traditional Democratic constituencies, such as labor, trial lawyers, and the poor. It also gives him a pipeline to political contributions from more pragmatic business interests which, under normal circumstances, would favor Republicans.

Position and timing tell part of the story of Bill Lockyer's influence, but the 54-year-old pro Tempore adds value to his institutional strength. Few in Sacramento are possessed of his combination of intelligence and tactical acumen, and even adversaries marvel at his innate ability to speak the language of his audience in any given situation. Whereas his Democratic counterparts in Washington scuttle aimlessly about trying to herd their deserting rats, Lockyer has given his members a reason to stick with their party by rallying them around core middle-class issues, such as student fee increases and K-12 education funding.

From his earliest days in politics, few doubted Lockyer had the intelligence to be an effective force in the Legislature. Raised within the confines of his current district, his first Assembly race, in 1973, was won in part by using the then-unusual strategy of targeting likely voters. When he moved over to the Senate in 1982, Lockyer became chair of the powerful Judiciary committee, even though he still hadn't graduated from law school. He was an architect of one of the most famous backroom deals in legislative history, a legal liability law sketched out on a cocktail napkin at Frank Fat's restaurant in Sacramento. When Lockyer showed off the napkin on the Senate floor later that night, the compromise forever became known as "the napkin deal."

Although he was a master at the inside game, Lockyer was often his own worst enemy, unable to control a temper that once got him into a hallway scuffle with a lobbyist. Since



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arriving in leadership, Lockyer has been remarkably disciplined. His outbursts now are more controlled, and sometimes seem to be as much for effect as out of genuine rage. Legislative trickery aside, however, Lockyer has solidified the Senate's standing as a stable institution, allowing it to assert the power that will flow its way in the era of term limits. If he is able to keep his party in power, Lockyer will leave a large footprint when those term limits force him out of the Senate in 1998, and he will be guaranteed a prominent role in shaping the vision of his party for some time to come.

— *Steve Scott*

Monica Lozano

Associate Publisher and Editor, La Opinion

The passage of Proposition 187 in 1994 has had one effect on the state's growing Latino population, the power of which 187's authors gravely underestimated: It made Latinos angry. Many have translated this anger into a determination to be heard by registering to vote, contributing to what experts expect will be a 33 percent increase statewide — as high as 50 percent in areas like Los Angeles County — among Latino voters. As the largest Spanish-language daily newspaper in the country, Los Angeles-based *La Opinion*, is the chief vehicle of political education for a population that is growing and just beginning to experience its political awakening.

Monica Lozano's grandfather founded the paper in 1926. Now, *La Opinion* has passed into the hands of Lozano and her brother, Publisher Jose Lozano. Their newspaper currently has an estimated daily readership of 400,000, the majority of whom get their editions at newspaper stands in Southern California. A new partnership with the *Los Angeles Times* to produce a weekly Spanish publication will widen that readership by delivering the new product to subscribers' doors.

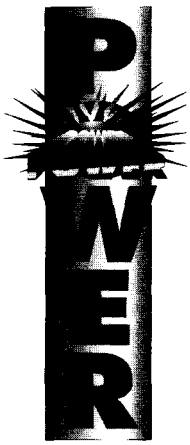
Despite the family tradition, Lozano initially avoided working at *La Opinion*. While her siblings went to work for the newspaper straight out of high school, Lozano attended college in Oregon and settled in San Francisco for 10 years. When she made the move back to Los Angeles and decided to join the family business, she had no experience in running a daily publication. In 1986, however, she became managing editor at the newspaper and five years later she assumed full responsibility for its contents as editor, replacing her father.

Under her direction, *La Opinion* has assumed a largely educational role in the Latino community, particularly among immigrants. She says the newspaper aims to explain "political and economic systems" rather than just report the news of the day. "We never assume that everybody knows what a straw poll is or how a primary works," she says. It is this basic type of information that will serve as a foundation for the political involvement, which will put the myth of Latinos as a silent minority in California to rest for good. And, if current demographic trends continue, such education may ensure that Latinos compose a very audible majority.

— *Keena Lipsitz*

Danielle Madison

Executive Director, California Independent Business PAC



For decades, state Republicans have sought a lever big enough to budge the Democratic majority in the Legislature. Last year, aided by a nationwide surge in GOP voting, the GOP found what it was looking for in the deep pockets of the conservative Allied Business PAC, now renamed the California Independent Business PAC.

This particular leverage took the form of more than a million dollars in election season legislative campaign contributions, averaging more than $45,000 per individual. The money flows largely from four Southern California families with a deeply conservative version of the California dream: Billionaire banking heir Howard Ahmanson leads the group, joined by publisher Roland Hinz, Christian radio network proprietor Ed Atsinger and businessman Richard Riddle.

The PAC's influence is magnified by the fact that it routinely contributes to candidates in primary elections, where official party organizations stay largely away. This gives the families considerable say in choosing GOP nominees in critical districts, who only then receive party support.

But even these families' collective bankbook would be of far lesser effect without a guiding hand; the lever's force must be applied at a strategic point if a legislative house is to be moved. In the PAC's case, the hand is that of 32-year-old executive director Danielle Madison. The PAC was originally formed and dominated by state Senator Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove), who remains a significant campaign player in his own right (see page 19). But by mid-1994, after Hurtt's 1993 election to the Legislature, Madison had taken over the bulk of the responsibility for targeting the PAC's money.

Her job combines the roles of producer, agent, and talent scout; in districts where PAC polling shows that a Republican candidate can win, she may go so far as to cold-call potential challengers. She and a small staff evaluate the promise of each district, seeking candidates that match the district as closely as possible, while still agreeing with as many as possible of the group's core socially and economically conservative values. She then returns to the PAC's donor families to sell them on the candidates and the races she believes can be won. Her record of success has added dramatically to the growing ranks of GOP legislators: In 1994, Allied-backed candidates won 24 of the 29 general election races they entered. Along the way, she and the PAC have brought the kind of organization and focus — and pragmatism — that long have eluded conservatives.

Madison comes from an unlikely background, given her current prominence as a conservative political operative. While working and studying for a social-work degree in Huntington Beach, she was hired by the city council to implement several programs she had devised for single mothers and at-risk street

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kids. The programs, which she says reflected Republican ideas, were successful, and she went on to become an aide and lobbyist for several GOP politicians and conservative organizations. But it was her social work that brought her to Ahmanson's attention, and this connection eventually brought her back from Washington, D.C. in early 1992 to work with the reclusive banking heir and Hurtt to build Allied.

The PAC's efforts finally bore fruit in the 1995 Assembly, allowing a long list of conservative Republican proposals to pass the lower house for the first time in years. Most are still blocked by the Democratic state Senate. But Madison's group will be working on that in elections to come.

— John Borland

Burt Margolin, Bruce Bronzan

Health care revolutionaries

For many Californians, the California dream could very well shatter against the wall of an increasingly expensive and inflexible health-care system. But today, revolution is shaking up that system, and many people — from health-maintenance organizations to associations of doctors and hospitals to pharmaceutical companies to politicians to Medicare recipients — will influence the change. As a result, it is difficult to single out key players on the barricades. But a pair of former Democratic legislators — Burt Margolin and Bruce Bronzan — are now playing significant roles in that revolution, albeit under very different circumstances, and the results of their work may serve to influence the course of health care for millions of Californians. Together, they possess a wealth of knowledge about health-care and about the political framework necessary for pulling it into the 21st century.

Margolin, 45, is toiling under the tyranny of circumstances. Appointed last August to rescue Los Angeles County's terminally ill system of hospitals and clinics that serve the poor, Margolin was named the county's "health czar" with broad power to do whatever was necessary to keep the system afloat. When he took over, the system faced a $655 million budget shortfall and closure of 34 of 45 neighborhood clinics and four of six county hospitals, including the trauma center at USC. The solution, spearheaded by Margolin, was to successfully seek a federal waiver so that federal money for indigent care could be spent for visits to clinics. Until the waiver was granted, the federal government would provide matching funds only when a patient was hospitalized. The waiver, however, allowed the county to be more flexible, and more prudent, in providing health care to a growing population of indigents. Margolin also sought to sell the county's clinics to private groups of physicians in order to strengthen the clinics and also to move indigent patients into private — rather than public — care. By so doing, he also laid the foundation for a new kind of health-care delivery system, one that began the first steps toward a global approach to health care that sought to coordinate both private and public providers.

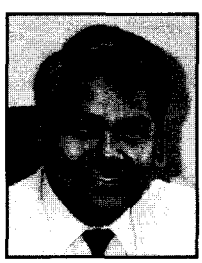
Bronzan, 48, is working toward the same comprehensive approach, although without the urgency of saving a system on the verge of implosion. As associate dean of the University of San Francisco School of Medicine in Fresno, Bronzan has been putting together a regional pilot program that, in his words, "integrates the delivery system to make it more accessible and efficient, plus organizes the purchasers [of health care] to give them more knowledge on behalf of their clients." The system that Bronzan envisions emphasizes primary care rather than hospitalization. What makes it so tantalizing as a model for the future is its global view, the "comprehensive approach to a system that for so long has been a series of disparate parts."

As for the future, counties in California can go one of two ways when delivering health care to their indigent populations — plan for the revolution now, or hit the same wall that loomed up in front of Los Angeles. The difference between Fresno and Los Angeles, said Bronzan, is "we started earlier to restructure the system prior to a crisis."

— A.G. Block

Eliseo Medina

Executive Director, SEIU Local 2028



If anyone has picked up a local newspaper recently and seen pictures of labor union members, whether they are janitors organizing in Sacramento or health-care workers protesting the closing of hospitals in Los Angeles, there's a good chance they belong to the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). As the largest union in the state with over 300,000 members and the one that "corners the market" on the growing number of California's service-sector employees, particularly in the government and health-care fields, labor experts agree that SEIU is a driving force in revitalizing the state and nation's ailing labor movement, which has seen a decrease in membership from 35 percent of the work force in 1945, to 15 percent today.

Eliseo Medina, as president of the member-elected state council, heads the body which determines the course of an organization that is not only empowering California's growing population of low-wage immigrant and women workers, but one that is setting an aggressive new organizing standard for unions across the nation.

As an organizer in San Diego, Medina was an architect of the hallmark "Justice for Janitors" campaign, which uses militant, 1930's-style tactics to organize predominantly immigrant Latinos. The success of campaigns such as these have made it possible for SEIU to grow in an age of shrinking unions and undoubtedly contributed to the recent election of former SEIU national president John Sweeney — also an architect of the Justice for Janitors campaign — to the head post of the 13.3 million-member AFL-CIO.

Among labor leaders throughout the state, Medina is

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widely considered to be a visionary with the ability to inspire others to take risks. Medina himself was first so inspired in 1956 at age 19 when, as a grape-picker in Delano, he participated in a United Farm Workers strike under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. Since that time, he has risen through the ranks to become the first Latino member of SEIU's highest national body, the member-elected executive council.

Medina believes labor is at the "threshold of a major resurgence" in this country and a key to this will be the politicization of labor members. To this end, he and state SEIU leaders are developing a new "labor-neighbor" program to organize labor members by precinct, creating a powerful voting block statewide. With 300,000 strong, SEIU will be a proactive force that shapes not only the California work place, but the state's political arena as well.

—Keena Lipsitz

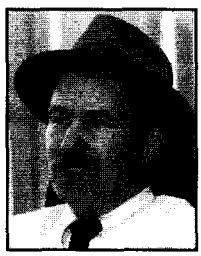
Don Novey

Executive Director, California Correctional Peace Officers Association

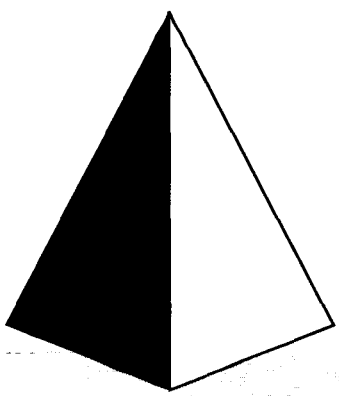
Though newcomers to the state often come looking for the California Dream, there is a darker side of the Golden State that is hard to ignore. As the population booms, so does the crime rate — and in the realm of politics, the public's fear has translated into a era of more prisons and tough-on-crime laws.

The California Correctional Peace Officers Association is a statewide organization that represents the men and women who supervise state prison inmates and wards of the California Youth Authority. CCPOA has over 23,000 members, making it one of the largest and most influential law-enforcement organizations in the state.

Don Novey, a lieutenant with the California Department of Corrections, was elected as the CCPOA's first president in 1980 — at the time, its membership was only 2600. Novey, a fifth-generation Californian, was no newcomer to corrections. He began his career in 1971 as a correctional officer at Folsom State Prison — just as his father before him had.



But being a warden was apparently not Novey's true calling in life. In the 15 years since his election to the CCPOA, he has nearly singlehandedly evolved what was once a small, quiet public employees union into one of the leading political forces in California. Though the CCPOA also keeps tabs on legislation, the union has become best-known for its sometimes staggering campaign contributions. In 1990, for instance, it gave over $900,000 to Governor Pete Wilson's campaign, and was there for him again when he ran for re-election in 1994. The CCPOA was the second-largest donor to the three-strikes initiative, giving $101,000. And when Assemblyman John Vasconcellos



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(D-Santa Clara) signed a 1992 ballot argument questioning pay for prison officers and arguing against new prison construction, the union gave $90,000 to his opponents. Not that the CCPOA only gives to Republicans — in 1992, it was the seventh-largest donor to the re-election campaign of then-Speaker Willie Brown, Jr. (D-San Francisco).

Novey has said that the union gives money to change the system, not to increase the number of guards. But there's little question that contributions get results — and attention. Novey enjoys a unique position among union leaders, in that he has more or less easy access to the governor. He shares a pleasant working relationship with Wilson, and both the CCPOA and Novey have reaped the benefits — Wilson has raised prison guards' salaries two percent more than the salaries of other state workers, and Novey himself was appointed by Wilson to the Industrial Welfare Commission, the body that sets minimum wage requirements and grants exceptions to the state law requiring overtime pay for work over eight hours a day.

The CCPOA's gigantic contributions have earned more than results. Those donations have also drawn angry criticism from groups like Common Cause, which argue that Novey is, in effect, buying perks for the organization. Still, the CCPOA continues to bask in the light of its success, and critics are left with little hope for its demise — the group's membership continues to expand by about 10 percent every year. With those kinds of numbers, and those kinds of connections, there's little doubt that the organization will be one of the leading designers of the California Dream as it takes its shape for the next century.

— Kirsten Mangold

Leon Panetta

White House chief of staff

The person who sits at the ear of the president of the United States has power that is global in scope. When that same person also organizes the president's life, the power is enhanced. And when that person also hails from California, he or she arguably is the most powerful Californian in the country.

And so it is with Leon Panetta, chief of staff to President Bill Clinton.

But Panetta's power has more dimensions to it than merely his service to Clinton. A seven-term veteran of Congress before joining the Clinton administration as head of the Office of Management and Budget in 1991, Panetta built a reputation as a hard-working consensus builder with considerable deal-making skills and a wonk's understanding of complex issues. The 57-year-old Monterey native also drips with integrity and candor. While still at OMB in 1993, for instance, he was deeply critical of his boss in a meeting with reporters, saying that Clinton's entire legislative program was in danger unless the president himself did a better job of selling it to the public and became more adroit at picking his fights. Although initially angry, Clinton the following year promoted Panetta to chief of staff. While at OMB, Panetta spearheaded the effort to reduce the federal deficit, ramming program reductions through an administration beseiged by congressional Democrats who often wanted a more liberal spending policy. Along the way, he earned a reputation as a tough negotiator.

Some observers argue that the 57-year-old son of Italian immigrants has a political shelf life beyond the White House. Should he choose, they say, Panetta could return to California elective politics once his stint with the Clinton administration comes to an end. He is regarded as an attractive candidate for governor, for instance, a Democrat who appeals across party lines to attract moderate Republicans.

Panetta, in fact, began his public career as a Republican, having worked as an aide to former GOP U.S. Senator Thomas Kuchel and as director of the Office of Civil Rights in the Nixon administration. He resigned from that job in a tiff with Nixon officials over the administration's approach to civil rights, then switched to the Democratic Party. He was elected to Congress in 1976 as a Democrat and served the Monterey-Carmel area until taking the job at OMB.

— A.G. Block

Tom Proulx

Former Intuit executive, political activist

In the right eyes, crafting public policy isn't unlike developing a new software program. A single slip, a single scenario unforeseen by drafters inevitably leads to bugs somewhere down the line — or loopholes, in a more legal parlance.

This is more or less the view of former Intuit executive Tom Proulx, who recently resigned from the software company he founded to work with a tort-reform coalition now dubbed the Alliance to Revitalize California. The 34-year-old Proulx is one of the few Silicon Valley executives that have left the tech-business roller coaster — even temporarily — to leap headlong into the world of politics. Most Valley types, he explains, are engineers at heart, and are frustrated by the necessity of compromise in politics, the inability to sit down, find an "optimal" solution and then implement it.

Proulx admits to this kind of bias himself, but has been bitten deeply by the political bug. And it is precisely this novelty that positions Proulx to have such an impact on the state's destiny: He brings to the political game the considerable financial resources built in his years with Intuit, the problem-solving bent of an engineer and the reformer's zeal of someone whose eyes have only recently been opened to the inefficiencies of civil society.

His programmer's mind and flow-chart vision of policy point him toward the initiative process, which he says can address issues the Legislature avoids. His current trio of propositions, slated for the March 1996 ballot, would establish no-fault auto insurance, cap attorney contingency fees, and institute a loser-pays provision for shareholder class-action lawsuits. This latter has brought substantial Silicon Valley

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dollars and support into the Alliance, as high-tech companies are often targeted in such suits. Proulx admits to leaving the name of the Alliance purposely vague, so that it might be applied to future, non-tort-reform issues, such as education, campaign reform or the flat tax — all issues he is interested in, but has not yet researched.

Proulx got his start in the computer industry at Stanford, where his undergraduate years phased almost seamlessly into his business. The beginnings of the now-wildly successful Quicken software program were written in a university dorm room, and the development of Intuit threw his more leisurely educational plans into fast-forward. He left school early, shuffling units around so that he could graduate nearly on time, and threw himself into the development of the business with partner and co-founder Scott Cook.

Intuit struggled for several years, until the two had built up a $100,000 nest egg to sink into advertising. In 1986, they committed to $120,000 worth of magazine advertisements, hoping the ads would generate enough money to pay the shortfall. By the middle of 1994, when Proulx finally took a step back to catch his breath, Quicken dominated the world of financial software, and Intuit had become one of most powerful programming companies in the business. He became chairman of the Alliance earlier this year.

Proulx is no longer connected with Intuit, other than as a substantial stockholder. His plans for the post-tort-reform fight are uncertain: He may retreat to the software world, and begin a new company, he says. Or politics may have taken root to stay.

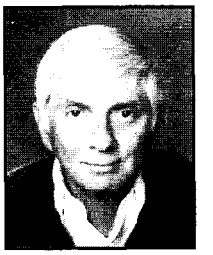
— John Borland

Aaron Spelling

Television producer

POWER

Beautiful people wearing beautiful clothes driving cherry cars in beautiful, sunny climes. During the 1960s, this innocent Nirvana was the California that found voice in the songs of Brian Wilson and the beach movies of Annette Funicello and Frankie Avalon. But by the '70s, Annette had grown up, Brian was into drugs, and the boob tube was now the conduit through which to view "the good life." Americans needed a new dose of California fantasies, and they got their fix through the imaginings of a maturing breed of television artists and executives. The most vivid of these gilded images were produced by Aaron Spelling.



In California, according to Spelling, the beautiful people are still wearing beautiful clothes. The cars are different — the hot rods and Woodies now supplanted by police cars and limousines — but there is still no precipitation in sight. What's more, now those Californians were loping across the screen nightly, in shows like "Charlie's Angels," "Starsky and Hutch,"

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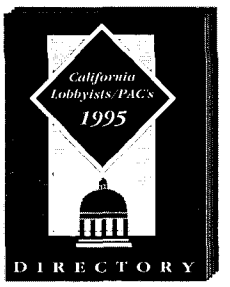

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and "T.J. Hooker." Sometimes, as in shows like "Hart to Hart," these El Dorado denizens bantered cleverly as they chased the bad guys. At other times, they showed their claws, as in programs like "Dynasty." Like Wilson's Beach Boy anthems, Spelling's productions had a West Coast tint even when they weren't about California. Unlike Wilson, however, Spelling is still at it, producing glossy California postcards for a new generation, through shows like "Beverly Hills 90210" and "Melrose Place."

Like many others who shaped the small-screen California Dream, the 67-year-old Spelling is a transplant who cut his teeth on television when the medium was still relatively young. A native of Dallas, Spelling moved from acting to writing, producing scripts for "Zane Grey Theater" and Playhouse 90. Eventually, he went into business with the late comedian Danny Thomas, producing Thomas' own show as well as the '60s faux-hippie classic, "The Mod Squad."

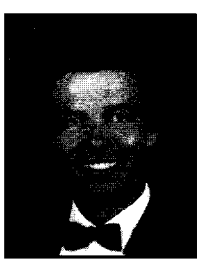
In 1971, Spelling went into business for himself, building a reputation as a reliable purveyor of escapist popcorn. In addition to the shows mentioned above, Spelling is also responsible for "The Love Boat," "Fantasy Island," "Matt Houston," "Vega$," "Hotel," and "The Rookies." He has also dabbled in movies, producing the highly-successful turn-about flick, "Mr. Mom." His Spelling Entertainment Group is estimated to be worth between $1.2 and $2 billion.

Television insiders may ponder the inclusion of Spelling on this list. His shows don't do especially well in syndication, and, hey, babe, everybody knows Steven Boccho is the hot producer right now. But the power to shape the future lies not merely in the ability to do deals. International mega-programs like "Baywatch" have their roots in the bleached facade of Spelling's California. As long as his shows continue to be produced and distributed internationally, people will still be using Spelling's rose-tinted periscope for their peek at Dreamland.

— *Steve Scott*

Jim Waldorf

Handgun manufactuer



Sandy beaches and ocean surf. Palm trees and sunshine. Ranch-style houses with Junior mowing the front lawn on a bright Saturday afternoon. Somewhere along the way, this idyllic version of the California dream has been transformed for many into a dystopian nightmare, where drive-by shootings, carjackings and random street violence seep out of the nightly newscasts into the lives of everyday citizens. At the center of this culture of fear are guns. Guns are killing kids, kids are killing with guns, and more and more people want guns to protect themselves from the rest of the world.

Five low-profile firms in Southern California have catered to this demand with entrepreneurial glee. Producing more than 80 percent of the low-price, small-caliber handguns in the nation, they have collectively sold millions in the last five years alone. Gun-control advocates note that these firms' weapons — which tend to retail at close to $100 or less, where a better-quality gun might cost five times that much — are used for "starter guns," particularly by juveniles, and are disproportionately found at the scenes of crimes. Cheap, readily available firepower drives the spiraling gun violence in the state and country, these critics say, and these firms are throwing gasoline on the already-raging fire.

Jim Waldorf heads Mira Loma's Lorcin Engineering, which according to federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms records, produced 341,000 pistols in 1993, more than any other manufacturer in the country. Waldorf serves as a kind of unofficial spokesman and leader for the bitterly competing companies, testifying in front of legislative committees that might be trying to shut down their production, occasionally speaking to the press, and contributing money to a slew of pro-gun lobbying organizations such as the National Rifle Association and the American Shooting Sports Council.

Waldorf argues that if his type of gun is used more than others in crimes — a point he does not concede — then it may be simply because of the large number produced and sold. And any argument based on these guns' price is racist and discriminatory, he says; shutting down this low-cost segment of the market, as some legislators have tried to do, would effectively be denying the right of poorer people to defend themselves with firearms.

Through crack marketing and aggressive tactics, the 46-year-old Waldorf has inherited the leader's mantle in a business otherwise dominated by a single family. The 1968 passage of the federal Gun Control Act made it illegal to import cheap, poorly manufactured handguns into the United States. This left a market vacuum that a machinist named George Jennings leapt to fill, and over the decades, turned into a fortune.

Jennings' Raven Arms made small caliber, low-quality weapons that were very cheap to manufacture. The profit was enough to bring his son Bruce into the business with Bryco Arms, and then a son-in-law, a nephew, and finally in 1989, Waldorf, a high-school friend of Bruce's. The firms initially produced separate product lines, but eventually moved into each other's turf, and the competition became tooth-and-nail. The elder Jennings has retired from the business altogether, leaving the younger generation to fight for today's markets. Demand for the low-caliber handguns has fallen dramatically since 1993, Waldorf says, and the firms are being forced to expand their production lines.

But as long as people need cheap guns, they'll be there.

— *John Borland*

John Walton

Wal-Mart heir and education champion

John Walton is one of those people who's perfectly happy keeping a low profile. So press-shy is he, in fact, that he wouldn't allow his press liaisons to send a mug shot to *Forbes* magazine when he made their list of the top 20 wealthiest people in America.

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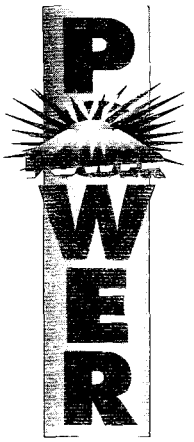
Walton wouldn't talk — or send a photo — to the *California Journal* either, but as much as he tries to stay out of the limelight, it's only going to become more difficult. The son of billionaire Sam Walton, the founder of Wal-Mart chain discount stores, Walton is today the largest stockholder in the company.

An Arkansas native, Sam Walton once said that his son John was the "independent" child. And though he's the largest stockholder in the company, John pursued his own dreams and didn't get involved in the family business as did his siblings. A Vietnam veteran, professional pilot and former crop duster, he moved to San Diego to make his own name as a boat builder. Though he never flaunted his fortune, it hardly went unnoticed, simply as a matter of public record. When he bought a Victorian home in National City, for instance, the local census figures suddenly needed a rewrite — the average income of National City residents who made more than $150,000 per year skyrocketed to $659,554 per person, the highest in the county.

But Walton doesn't make this list just because of his pocketbook. He has not only the wherewithal, but the vision to change California's future. A father of school-age children himself, Walton became concerned about the state's public school system several years ago. His involvement began with his joining the board of directors of the Children's Educational Opportunity — a conservative group dedicated to educational reform. Walton also donated heavily to the coffers of Proposition 174, 1993's special-election voucher initiative.

Despite Walton's money, Proposition 174 was defeated by a two-to-one margin, and the initiative's supporters split into two groups in the aftermath. One of the groups recently put another voucher initiative into circulation, trying to qualify it for the November 1996 ballot. But longtime voucher opponents aren't too worried about it, since the group has little cash with which to back it up. Instead, groups like the California Teachers Association are watching the *other* splinter group — the one that Walton joined. That group has been working diligently, albeit quietly, on a more comprehensive education reform initiative, which is shaping up for the November 1998 ballot. This initiative will promote not only vouchers but charter schools, and will likely attack teacher tenure — in other words, it's shaping up to be the CTA's worst nightmare. CTA officials grudgingly admit that they're a little concerned; if the 1998 proposal is written with a broad appeal — if it has both public flash and Walton's cash — it won't be so easily beaten.



Walton's friends are quick to point out that he is not wedded to vouchers exclusively — rather, "John likes anything that gives parents and taxpayers more control over the system." He also likes the concept of charter schools, and continues to look for new and innovative ways to improve education in the state. Friends describe him as a selfless, shy man whose main fear of the press stems from the fact that he doesn't want to be singled out as "the rich guy" whose money is the driving force behind education reform. But, admits one

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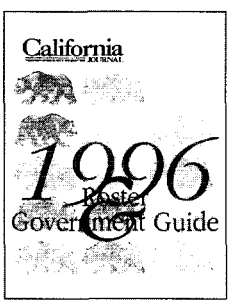

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who knows him well, "If John weren't involved, the movement would definitely lose some of its steam. It's because of his resources and his vision that it continues on."

— Kirsten Mangold

Mark Willes

CEO, Times Mirror

Those who seek to influence the shape of the California dream often need a megaphone to publicize their ideas. And in California, there is but one megaphone with the clout and size to influence *movement*— the Times Mirror Corporation and its flagship publication, the *Los Angeles Times*. No other media outlet brings with it the respectability and reach of Southern California's media colossus.

But lately, that colossus itself is being shaped by a leader with virtually no journalistic experience. Irreverently dubbed "Captain Crunch" and the "Cereal Killer," Mark Willes came to Times Mirror from General Mills, where he served as vice chairman in charge of the bottom line. As Times Mirror president and chief executive officer, he was responsible for the recent decisions to close Times Mirror's *New York Newsday* and, closer to home, downsize the *Times* itself. In an age when the media is increasingly controlled by publicly held corporations whose first allegiance is to shareholders, experts agree that Willes' bottom-line orientation represents the future of decision-making in the industry.

As the third largest newspaper publisher in the U.S., the $3 billion Times Mirror corporation owns daily newspapers across the nation, like the *Baltimore Sun*, and, in Southern California, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Newport Beach-Costa Mesa Daily Pilot*, and the *Glendale News-Press*. It publishes numerous magazines, ranging from the *National Journal* to *Field & Stream*, as well as books on a variety of subjects. While this may sound like an impressive array of products, Times Mirror's shareholders have not been impressed with the corporation's profit margin, which lags behind that of its major competitors. Enter Willes.

The corporation's board of directors passed over Times Mirror insiders to hire this 54-year-old, who holds a doctorate from the Columbia Graduate School of Business. At 35, Willes was appointed to run the Federal Reserve Bank in Minneapolis — the youngest person to ever hold such a position in the nation — and four years later, left government to join General Mills, where he quickly ascended to become the corporation's president.

While journalists have criticized Willes' approach to selling news, which, much like selling a box of Wheaties, revolves around determining what the customer wants and designing the product accordingly, shareholders are ecstatic about having someone around who can make tough, bottom-line decisions. It is these types of decisions, which recently resulted in hundreds of pink slips for *Los Angeles Times* employees, that will ultimately determine both the quality and diversity of information upon which Californians rely.

— Keena Lipsitz

Pete Wilson

Governor

Any list of those with the influence to shape the California dream must include the governor — regardless of the name that follows the title. Pete Wilson, the current title holder, has mostly been a shaper of his own destiny of late, having mounted a quixotic and ultimately unsuccessful bid for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination. It may be said that Gray Davis, the Democratic lieutenant governor, spent just as much time in the state's driver's seat during the first half of 1995 as did Wilson, but even then, Wilson, as governor, held the power — whether he was in California or chasing windmills in New Hampshire.

The governor stamps his imprimatur on nearly every facet of California life — from courtrooms to schools to parks to rivers and streams to welfare offices to orchards and farms to hospitals and doctors' offices. He appoints regents to the University of California and directors of the Bureau of Automotive Repair and the California Film Commission, chief justices of the State Supreme Court and wardens of every state prison facility. The governor also is the first and final arbiter of how the state spends its money through his duty to introduce a state budget, and his power to negotiate its details with the Legislature and blue-pencil itemized appropriations. He also has the obvious power to veto any piece of legislation. Beyond statutory and regulatory authority, however, the governor enjoys a "bully pulpit" from which to promote a political agenda. Wilson, for instance, used this pulpit extensively during his 1994 re-election effort, influencing the entire direction of the campaign through his championing of Proposition 187 — the initiative that denied social, educational and health benefits to undocumented residents. This is power that accrues to every governor.

But there is another aspect that is unique to Wilson himself, despite the fact that the 62-year-old chief executive cannot serve past 1998. Wilson will serve as governor during a critical time in California political history — the transition to a term-limit driven Legislature, when it is expected that a large dose of power will flow from the legislative to the executive branches. And Wilson, who never met a power vacuum he didn't want to occupy, is in a position to shape the new relationship between lawmakers and the governor. Perhaps more than any governor in recent memory, Wilson's antennae are keenest when contemplating ways to expand his — and therefore, his office's — prerogatives. Over the next few years, as California revamps the social and political landscape in such diverse areas as health care and gambling, Wilson will be ideally situated to capitalize on the on-going legislative chaos brought about by the full impact of term limits — which next year will see the departure of every legislator elected prior to 1992.

Wilson also will be freed up — for the first time in recent memory — from having to run for office. This should allow him the kind of latitude he has yet to enjoy as governor when it comes to policy making.

— A.G. Block

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Cesar Chavez: His work among the poorest and least powerful Californians helped revolutionize agriculture and cast a much-needed spotlight on the underside of the Dream.

Dorothy Chandler: Her efforts brought a sense of refinement to California beyond the pop culture of the entertainment industry.

Al Davis: His lawsuit against the National Football League, and his uprooting of the Raiders from Oakland to Los Angeles, launched the scramble for professional sports franchises.

Walt Disney: For children of every age, his Orange County theme park *was* the California Dream.

David Wark Griffith: Whatever critics now think of "Birth of a Nation" and "Intolerance," he was the first major film-maker to base in Southern California and to pioneer Hollywood as a home for the world's dream factory.

William Randolph Hearst: His newspaper and film empire stretched the length of the Golden State.

Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann: Their initiative babies — Proposition 13 and Proposition 4 — still drive fiscal policy for all levels of California government.

Hiram Johnson: The Progressive governor (1911-1917) and U.S. senator (1917-1945) is the father of the initiative, still used by individuals and interest groups to shape public policy, and his Progressive movement broke the power of railroad magnates who had controled California during the latter half of the 19th century.

Henry Kaiser: An industrialist, he helped establish California as a manufacturing power. His shipyards in Oakland and Los Angeles supplied the navies of the world; his steel plant in Fontana was the largest in the West.

Jack Kerouac: He brought "beat" to California and exemplified the notion of California as a landing place for a restless generation.

Clark Kerr: As president of the University of California, he launched the massive expansion program that brought UC to the forefront in higher education.

John Muir: Although he lost the battle to save Hetch Hetchy valley, his writings informed and inspired generations of Americans about the luster of the California environment.

William Mulholland: He rose from a ditch tender with the Los Angeles Water Company to inspire and oversee the bringing of water from the Owens Valley into the Los Angeles basin, thereby making the population boom of Southern California possible.

Huey Newton: Although he lived a checkered life that ended violently on an Oakland street, Newton and the Black Panthers for a time symbolized the embryonic movement toward Black pride and community based responsiblity in the late 1960s and '70s.

Walter O'Malley: When he moved the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles in 1958, he brought the West Coast into a brighter major league spotlight than was ever afforded by the still-struggling National Football League.

David Packard: He invented the Silicon Valley and brought an enlightened interest in politics to the business community.

Charles Purcell: As director of the Department of Public Works during and following World War II, he planned and oversaw construction of the state's massive freeway system.

Ronald Reagan: His political "revolution" carried all the way to the White House and, with it, created a fundamental reordering of the relationship between middle-class America and the Republican Party.

Jackie Robinson: He came out of UCLA to change the face of professional sports forever.

Pete Schabarum: His anger with the political system led to Proposition 140, the term-limit initiative of 1990 that has done more to change the political landscape than any other endeavor since the Progressive era of Hiram Johnson.

John Steinbeck: His novels and stories, especially "The Grapes of Wrath," "Tortilla Flat" and "Cannery Row," chronicled realities often missing in the glow of the California Dream.

Jesse Unruh: As speaker of the Assembly, he created the modern Legislature, with its bevy of professional staff and its increasingly cozy relationship with monied special interests.

Earl Warren: He served as governor when California began its huge highway construction program, but his greatest impact came after he had left to become chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Brian Wilson: As the driving inspiration behind "The Beach Boys," his music and lyrics evoked an image of California life as sun-drenched, beautiful and laid back.

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Gulliver among

Efforts to dismember Los Angeles' massive school district were made easier by legislation passed this year, but the task still is so monumental that opponents of the breakup may not have to actively oppose it — just wait for proponents to crack under the strain.

By Keena Lipsitz

It sprawls across the face of Los Angeles County like some giant sea beast, its tentacles reaching into neighborhoods, affecting the lives of over 640,000 children. For years, certain communities have longed to pry loose the grip of the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), and, thanks to legislation that passed in September, they finally may have a carving knife that's big enough to do the trick.

The knife arrived in the form of two bills promoted by an improbable duet of legislators. The first, authored by conservative Assemblywoman Paula Boland (R-Granada Hills), drastically reduces the number of signatures required to qualify a ballot measure designed to breakup a school district and does away with the district's ability to veto a breakup initiative. The second, sponsored by liberal Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), adds criteria to those already found in the state Education Code, which must be met by any plan to restructure a school district. The passage of these two bills made supporters of breaking up the gargantuan LAUSD — the chief target of the

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the Lilliputians

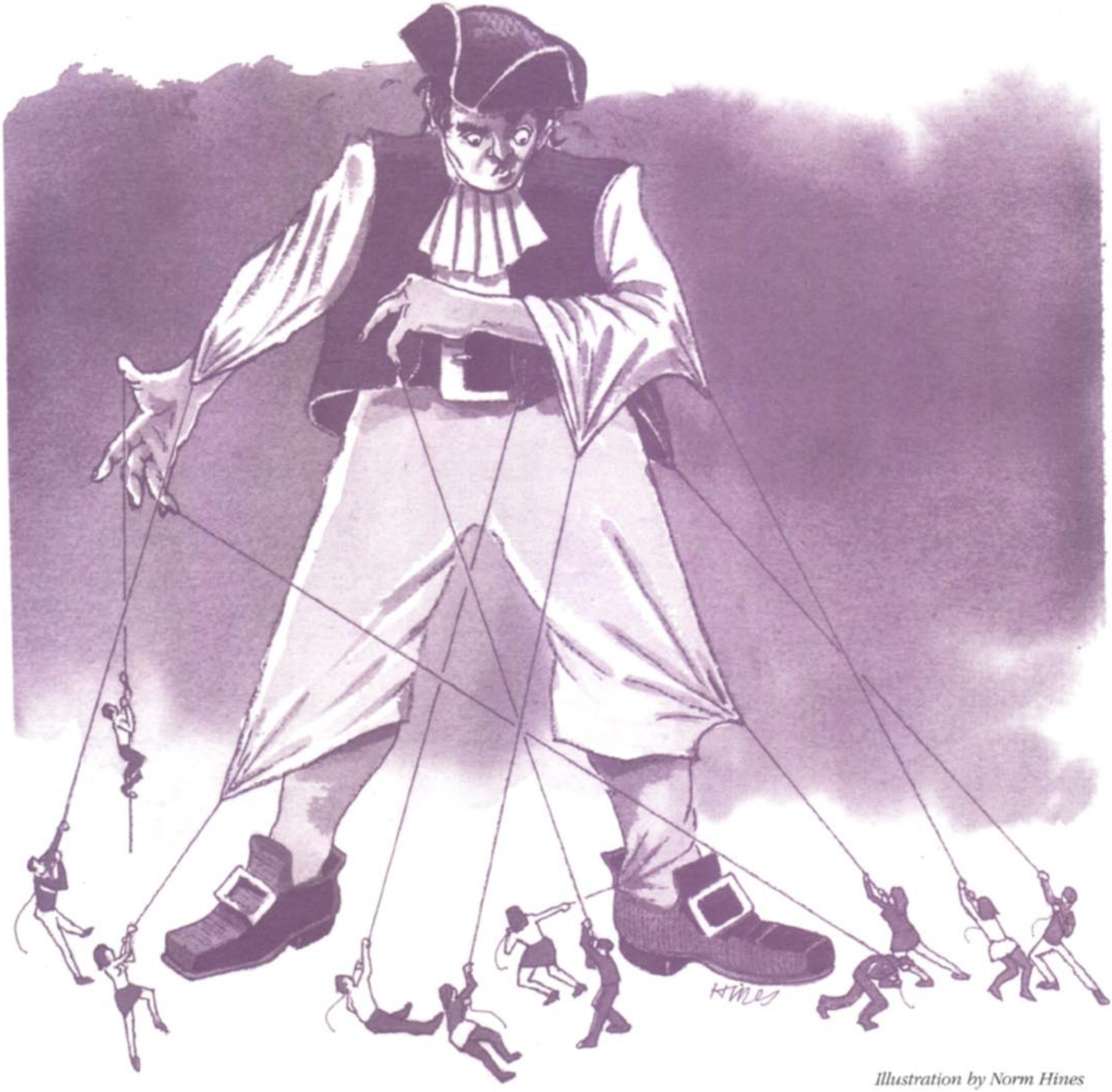

Illustration by Norm Hines

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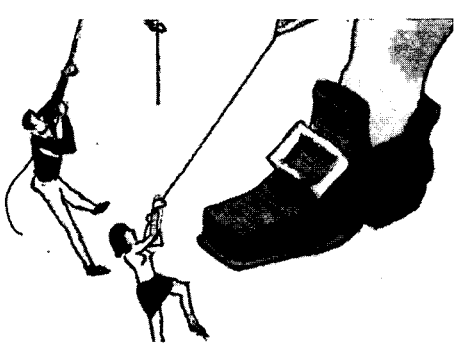
Perhaps the expedition needs a leader. Yet, no one appears to be stepping forward to take the reins.



legislation — positively giddy with anticipation of the slicing extravaganza to come. But now that the initial euphoria has subsided, breakup proponents are learning just how messy the gutting and carving can be.

For years, parent groups in particular have begged for the chance to get at LAUSD. Unfortunately, they can't just wave a magic wand and make the district disappear. LAUSD must be replaced by something. And the job of crafting that "something" — in the form of a petition that must be approved by the county and state boards of education before it even goes before voters — is where the difficulty lies. Now, breakup proponents must wade through a quagmire of regulation, case law, legal challenges, and bureaucratic process that will not only slow their momentum down considerably, but may drown their effort entirely.

The difficulty of what lies ahead for breakup proponents means that only those who possess organization, resources and a thorough understanding of the requirements for constructing a school district will ultimately make it through the muck. Perhaps more important, the expedition needs a leader. Yet, no one appears to be stepping forward to take the reins. While a number of meetings have taken place in areas such as the San Fernando Valley, South Central, to discuss breaking off, only one organization — the 31st District Parent Teacher Student Association (PTSA), located in the San Fernando Valley — has made any observable movement toward actually developing a petition under the Boland-Hayden legislation. It has put together a task force to review the idea. But despite this activity, the organization remains neutral on the future of LAUSD, according to task force chair Bobbi Farrell.

Even long time proponents of the breakup, the San Fernando Valley group called Valley Advocates for Local Unified Education (VALUE), have not made any moves yet. VALUE founder Doug Lasken says his group "wants to be part of a coordinated effort." Specifically, he claims to be waiting for Boland to call the troops to arms.

Yet, Boland and other Los Angeles legislators say the district lead ought to come from the parents. Hayden's chief of staff, Duane Peterson, says his boss will provide technical expertise, but that the ball is in the parents' court. "This is about self-determination," he says.

Boland has indicated that she will take a more active role by teaming up with Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan to coordinate what she calls an "information clearinghouse." According to her chief of staff, Scott Wilkes, this think tank of academics, legal experts and demographers will provide breakup proponents with additional technical expertise. This may sound like a good idea, but as the months pass by, critics in the district question whether it will ever really happen.

While the pro-breakup forces in Los Angeles stand around pointing fingers and offering to provide information, the two biggest opponents of the effort — LAUSD and the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) — have said surprisingly little. LAUSD Superintendent Sid Thompson has vowed not to interfere with any attempts to reorganize the district, pledging that his administration will provide the groups with any data necessary. While UTLA has been grumbling since the legislation's passage, President Helen Bernstein has not threatened to interfere with the process, saying only that should the breakup occur, UTLA will fight to continue representing teachers in the successive districts.

Observers of this battle have been quick to interpret LAUSD and UTLA inactivity as resignation. A week before the Boland-Hayden legislation passed, one senior legislative aide said, "UTLA is adamantly against this rhetorically, but they haven't pulled out all the stops because they know they're going to lose." Some have suggested that this inactivity is actually a new strategy — a more Zen-like approach that allows their fear to wash over them and through them, so to speak, with the expectation that it will leave them unscathed. To put it bluntly, that, try as they might, breakup proponents will ultimately fail.

One reason LAUSD and UTLA might believe this will be the case is that the process by which breakup proponents must seek their ends is lined with pitfalls. While Boland's measure eliminates the local school board's ability to veto a breakup proposal, it does not eliminate any administrative steps. For example, if a group decides to break off from the district, it must first develop a

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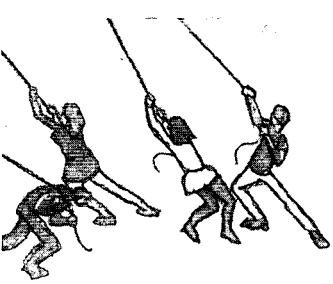
petition, describing the new district in minute detail — determine district boundaries and where every desk and child will go — and gather signatures. Next, they must submit the petition to the county Board of Education, which oversees the 94 school districts in Los Angeles County with its three-person staff, for analysis and public hearings. The county board also has the additional pressure of determining how Hayden's new criteria will be interpreted.

Ex-school board member Warren Furutani says, "Hayden's bill has a whole shopping list of litmus tests," including ensuring racial and socio-economic diversity, which will make the county and state board's job much more difficult. Marc Forgy, secretary to the county committee, bluntly says of the petition deluge he expects, "We're currently not staffed to handle this."

In the event that the petition gets past this bend in the pipe, it goes to the state Board of Education — a body that has similar staff problems since its budget has been cut by 80 percent in the last five years. If the 11-member state board accepts the petition, its members then determine who gets to vote on it. Once the board makes its decision, an election is called and the voters get the final say. Well, not exactly. Those who are miffed by the outcome may then take their case to the courts, and after five or 10 years, breakup proponents may discover that their hard work was all for naught.

Dan Reibson, a state school district reorganization specialist, echoes the exasperated sentiments of many and the very thing that LAUSD and UTLA are counting on when he says, "This is not a rational, planned process."



As breakup proponents are embarking on this dangerous voyage, the district and UTLA hope to take the wind out of their sails by continuing to trumpet other reform efforts in the district — chiefly the Los Angeles Educational Alliance for Reform Now (LEARN). Individual schools vote to adopt the LEARN program, which emphasizes local control and increased autonomy for its members. Of the 650 schools in the district, 192 are LEARN schools, and President Mike Roos expects another 75 to 100 schools to join in the next year. Though Roos does not believe breaking up the district and the LEARN reform are necessarily antithetical, he does think breakup proponents have not done their homework. "What's interesting is that the breakup is not a 'thing' yet," says Roos, a former Democratic assemblyman. "As an idea it is very compelling, but I don't think people have done the analysis."

Many believe that opponents of the break up hope the process that lies ahead will deter advocates. If these reorganization groups do not coordinate their efforts and secure the resources that will allow them to analyze the deluge of information inundating them, this very well may be the case. "Somebody's got to organize this," warns Furutani. "Somebody's going to have to add some logic to this or nothing's going to happen."

Thus far, it's nothing.

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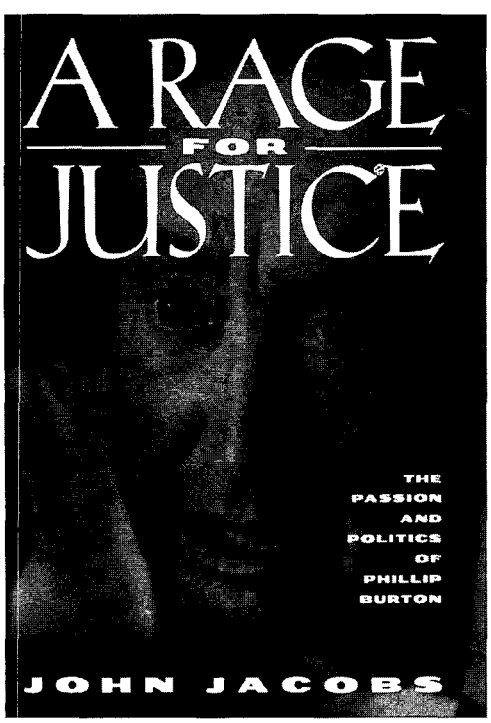
The Path t

A Rage for Justice: the passion and politics of Phillip Burton

By John Jacobs

Editor's note: Phil Burton didn't just put his mark on California politics; he stomped it into the landscape with ruthless and single-minded attention to the needs of his varied constituencies — minorities, labor, the poor, the environment and, above all, the Democratic Party. He was a man of gargantuan appetities, massive successes and spectacular failures. And for a generation, he shaped California politics and social policy, first as a legislator, then as a congressman representing San Francisco. Burton's brilliance, drive and ambition have been magnificently captured in an important political biography by John Jacobs, political editor of McClatchy Newspapers. Jacobs not only chronicles Burton's tumultuous life, but also provides an in-depth view of an era in American political history. California Journal *is pleased to present a brief excerpt from this 578-page biography, focusing on Burton's exercise of power in the competitive arena of congressional politics. "A Rage for Justice" is published by University of California Press.*



"Phil Burton was always planning his agenda for power. As soon as he got to the House, he knew exactly what to do. That's one reason why he was so powerful. When progressive reformers took over the Democratic majority in the House, Burton was the only one with an agenda."

— Abner Mikva, White House counsel and former chairman of the Democratic Study Group

"We used to gather at the DSG offices in the late afternoon, and Phil Burton would hold forth ... Phil didn't originate the notion, but he certainly adopted the idea of slicing the salami year by year so that instead of major, threatening, confrontational change that brought out the do-or-die resistance of the establishment of the House, they'd take a slice or two every Congress and make important but incremental changes."

— Former House Speaker Thomas Foley

If there was any House committee chairman guaranteed to frustrate the freewheeling Phillip Burton, it was one of his own, the crusty and autocratic Wayne Aspinall of Colorado. Aspinall, a hated foe of environmentalists, ran the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with a rigid hand. Fifty-two when he entered Congress in 1949 for the first of 12 terms, Aspinall moved quickly up the seniority ladder, becoming chairman a decade later.

A former teacher, peach farmer and speaker of the Colorado Legislature, Aspinall took attendance, required absolute decorum, and sat next to his subcommittee chairmen, no matter how senior, as they conducted hearings he

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Journal *archive photo*

scheduled. He decided who served on which subcommittee and where each bill went. If his colleagues deviated from his script, he rebuked them like errant children. He controlled their budgets, staff and travel, and until his secretaries convinced him otherwise, he scheduled appointments in two-minute allotments. He created a subcommittee on the environment that Tom Foley later recalled as a "place of detention for bills he did not wish to move. Once committed, a bill was in for 20, if not life." Environmentalist and longtime adversary David Brower told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We have seen dream after dream dashed on the stony countenance of Wayne Aspinall."

Aspinall's conduct was not unusual. Many chairmen acted like little dictators within the confines of their committees and sometimes beyond, as Louisiana Democrat Edward Hebert's temper tantrum over Burton's bill to create the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) made clear. But Burton had not come this far to be frustrated by petty tyrants. The progressive changes he envisioned — in Congress and in the United States — could not happen in the House as it existed. If he were to move into the leadership, and there was no doubt that was his aim, the House had to be democratized and the virtually absolute authority

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of the committee chairmen curtailed.

The conventional route to leadership involved playing along, performing routine political chores, not alienating important people. Gradually, in this way, a few of the chosen were accepted into the inner circle. One man, especially skilled and blessed, was personally selected when the time came to be House majority whip and serve under the speaker and majority leader.

Burton could play this game up to a point. He had gotten close to Majority Leader Carl Albert (D-Oklahoma) and to Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Arkansas). He invited them to San Francisco and led them (separately) on tours of bawdy North Beach strip joints.

Journal *archive photo*

North Beach strip joints and alcohol aside, Burton was temperamentally unable to wait his turn in the House, as if it would ever come, or accommodate himself to the old-boy system. He showed he could horse-trade with the best of them on specific legislation, but Burton's politics were often far to the left of what constituted Democratic Party consensus.

With the traditional means thus barred, Burton had to create his own path to power, an alternative route up the ladder. Building on currents of change already swirling around the House to reform the seniority system and make the committee chairmen more accountable, Burton ascended by winning chairmanship of the Democratic Study Group and later the House Democratic Caucus. The caucus was an inert body that other reformers as well as Burton hoped to resuscitate and use as a rival base from which to challenge all-powerful committee chairmen. From there, Burton could blast directly onto the top rungs of a House leadership that had its own candidates.

This was the recurring pattern of Phillip Burton's life. If the Trojan Knights or Theta Nu Epsilon rejected him at the University of Southern California, he took over Blue Key and by force of personality made it important. If Bill Malone's San Francisco political machine would never tap him for office, he found his own way, taking on the established order directly and eventually replacing it with his own. And if Jesse Unruh viewed Burton as his primary rival in the California Assembly, Burton still found ways of beating him at his own game, even assuring Unruh's support of a massive revamping of California social and welfare policy — AB 59 of 1963 — by authorizing the state to pay for Unruh's mother's nursing-home costs by way of changing the law on relatives' responsibilities.

Now the task was yet more formidable. The stakes were higher and his opponents were more skilled. Burton began agitating on his own committee, where his first target was Aspinall. Both committees on which Burton served produced major challenges to their chairmen. On Education and Labor, Adam Clayton Powell's (D-New York) flagrant abuse of rules and perquisites produced new rules that diffused his power to the subcommittee chairmen. Aspinall was no Powell, but in the same way, Burton began to loosen the Coloradan's grip on Interior.

One day, after he had been on the committee for a few years, Burton made it clear he was not willing to bow and scrape in deference to the rigid chairman. Arriving late to a committee hearing, Burton burst into the hearing room, talking loudly, slapping spectators on the back as he made his way to the dais, where members sat at the horseshoe-shaped table. By rudely interrupting the meticulous Aspinall in mid-question and blowing his nose loudly at inopportune moments, he showed his colleagues they did not have to sit like terrified school boys quivering in fear of their stern headmaster.

Burton also began working the committee system, still controlled by the Ways and Means Committee, to import reform-minded liberals onto a committee where any challenge to the chairman was considered near suicidal. He was not the only member who chafed under Aspinall's rule, although allies Mo Udall of Arizona and Lloyd Meeds and Foley of Washington were more respectful of their chairman's prerogatives. Burton's manipulations paid off. His closest friend, Robert Kastenmeier, a liberal Wisconsin environmentalist, joined Interior, followed by Jonathan Bingham of New York and Patsy Mink of Hawaii, whom Burton had helped elect vice president of the Young Democrats a decade earlier.

After liberalizing the committee with these new members, Burton then expanded it. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Trusts and Territories, he proposed legislation to give offshore territories like Guam and the Virgin Islands representation in Congress. Puerto Rico already had a non-voting "delegate." Over Aspinall's objections, Burton's bill was approved and enacted into law. These delegates could not vote on the floor, but they could vote in committee and in the caucus. Burton told the delegates they should seek appointments to Interior. It was the only meaningful committee to serve on, he advised them, because it had jurisdiction over their territories. This was how they could bring federal dollars home, and with his help, some became absolute masters of pork. Once Burton got them assigned to Interior, these delegates were his for life. Years later, when American Samoa got its delegate, Burton began with four votes on virtually any issue. He converted enough of the rest of the committee to have his own majority without ever being chairman.

Aspinall mistakenly believed he could dominate these Democratic Study Group liberals, whom committee conservatives nicknamed the "Crazies." Working with Foley and Meeds, Burton plotted revolution. He figured out what needed to be done, then used Meeds to make the speeches while he rounded up votes. Indeed, over the next few years, when the machinery was put in place to democratize the entire House, Foley and Meeds later said it got its first test in the Interior Committee. Committee Republicans, it turned out, also were chafing under Aspinall's iron rule. Burton approached them, too, about curtailing the chairman's power.

By 1971, they were ready to strike. As Republican Sam Steiger of Arizona described it in a February 19, 1971, newsletter to his constituents, what happened next was "genuine rebel-

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lion," which Steiger called "unreported and apparently unnoticed, but in my limited experience a totally refreshing renewal of hope that the rigidity of precedence is not unbreakable." For six years, Steiger said, the "ultra-liberal Democratic Study Group has been loading the Interior Committee with some of its wildest-eyed members. They have been at almost constant odds with the chairman, and he has made no secret of his concern that they represent potential harm to the orderly process of the committee." But Meeds and Burton, "a genuine, rug-chewing liberal activist," Steiger wrote, drew up written rules—which required a committee vote—to force Aspinall to be more responsive. First, subcommittee chairmen, including Burton, could hire their own professional staff.

"Really meaty, heroic stuff," Steiger wrote, tongue partly in cheek. "Not to you, perhaps, but tantamount to flag despoiling to the chairman." Burton and Meeds then offered them a deal:

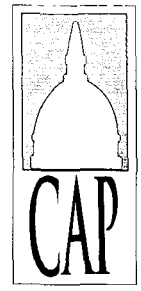
"If we, the Republicans, would support the DSG people, they would permit us to hire our own staff at a ratio of one minority staffer for every two majority staffers. Since we currently have only one staffer, this was great." Most of the Republicans thus joined with the DSG people and over the shocked disbelief and chillingly clear threats of retribution of the chairman, passed the staffing amendment. This improbable alignment of bitter philosophical enemies had so much fun spanking the chairman, they kept it up for another full day and changed a whole series of rules.

Aspinall was furious, but there was little he could do. Against his will, the committee he dominated was being democratized and decentralized, his authority dispersed to subcommittee chairmen. From the moment Burton became chairman of the DSG, it became an important center of House activities, the engine of reform and the instrument of Burton's power. Indeed, just as a 24-year-old congressional staffer and budding power broker named Lyndon Johnson took over an ineffectual group of House aides called the Little Congress and make it his in 1933 (also by packing that house, according to Johnson biographer Robert Caro), Burton was about to put his own indelible stamp on the DSG.

Previous leaders were respected men of substance. None, however, possessed Burton's drive or combination of extreme liberalism, uncanny operational abilities and hardball tactics. But his remained a difficult brilliance. He could be an ugly drunk, spewing saliva as he screamed vulgarities or berated colleagues in front of staff or peers. Mikva, Foley, Kastenmeier and California's Don Edwards (D-San Jose) willingly accepted that aspect of his personality because they knew he was incorruptible, could accomplish things few others could and never deviated from his mission to help the poor, even as he accumulated personal power. But not everyone forgave him his flaws. Liberals such as James Corman, Frank Thompson, John Brademas and, later, Tip O'Neill were so offended by his crudeness and almost willful lack of social grace that they could not stand to be in the same room with him, let alone on the same side.

Every afternoon, Burton gathered at DSG offices to discuss strategy with groups of allies that included Foley, Mikva, David Cohen and another Common Cause advocate named Fred Wertheimer, and a rotating band of other House liberals. In Sacramento, Burton had opened the Legislature to the "Raggedy Ass" lobby of fledgling public-interest groups, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee and the United Farm Workers union. Now in Washington, Burton was inviting similar groups into DSG, including Common Cause, Americans for Democratic Action, the National Committee for an Effective Congress and some of Ralph Nader's spin-off groups, all of which knew that without congressional reform, liberal social legislation was unattainable. Every afternoon at six, Burton brought out the vodka and whiskey, and the DSG mutineers plotted their next moves.

In a profile of Burton published about that time for *Congress Watch*, Nader's top assistant, Joan Claybrook, concluded: "He has been described as crude and abrasive, a man who mixes legal jargon with blue-movie aphorisms ... The most fascinating side of the California legislator is the manner by which he adopts congressional rules and colleague complaints to create his own legislative triumphs — and it is rarely if ever visible to the media or public. The method is a combination of behind-the-scenes maneuvers and 'confrontation' politics with either small groups of powerful members or with members in a position to cast determining votes ... He lives, eats and drinks politics. His concentration on the subject and the intensity of his interest sometimes exhausts those around him. And his sometimes overbearing manner tires even his friends."



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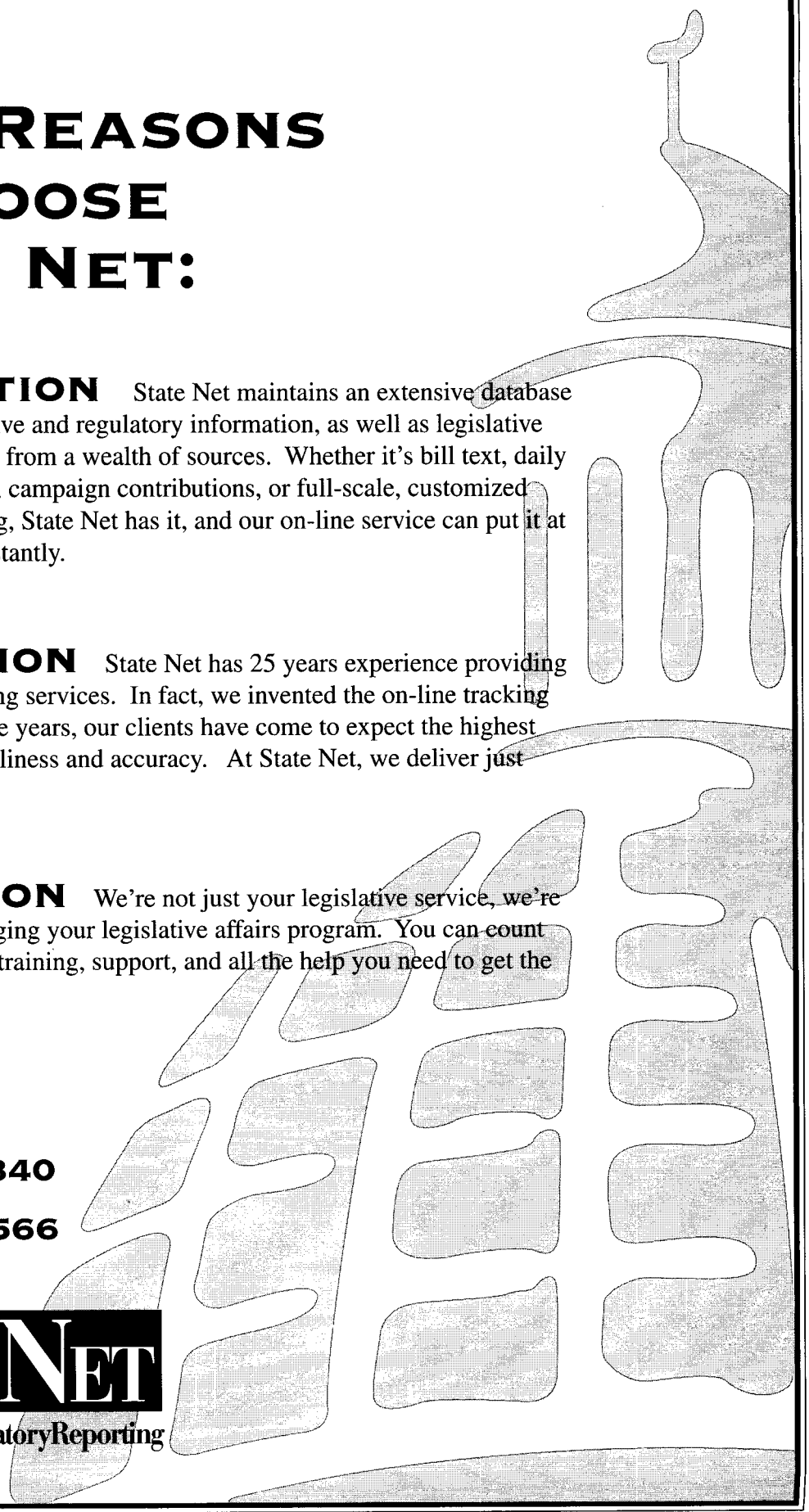

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Southern Exposure
PERSPECTIVE

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

OJ and Gil Garcetti

This is positively the last O.J. Simpson column. Honest. But it's time for some perspective on how the "Trial of the Century" might alter California's political landscape.

Much of the Southland speculation has centered around Los Angeles County District Attorney Gil Garcetti. Immediately after the verdict, cruel jokes abounded. Observed one Los Angeles comic, "... Garcetti asked the Pope to pray for his political future, but the pontiff said there were some things even he couldn't heal."

In the abstract, Garcetti does appear politically vulnerable. But there is nothing abstract about politics. Campaigns are rooted in — or uprooted by — the real world. In 1992 Garcetti successfully campaigned against his boss, then-incumbent District Attorney Ira Reiner, on the issue of competence. He attacked the propensity of Reiner's office to blow the "Big Cases" — such as the McMartin Pre-School trial and the first prosecution in the Rodney King beating case.

When Garcetti's hand-picked prosecution team lost the Simpson case, the "incompetence" charge used so successfully by Garcetti suddenly seemed an effective blueprint for a campaign against him. However, public anger over the verdict appears to have settled on the Simpson jury, rather than on the District Attorney's office. Still, it is not helpful to Garcetti, a Democrat running for re-election in a tough law-and-order climate, that the nonpartisan primary for the district attorney's job is on the March 1996 ballot. The GOP presidential-nomination contest is likely to produce a turn-out skewed toward an electorate more conservative, more Republican, more heavily Anglo and less reflective of Garcetti's core Democratic constituencies.

A strong, well-funded Republican challenger could force Garcetti into a November face-off. Or take it all in March, if Democrats — particularly African-Americans, who tended to support the not-guilty verdict Garcetti fought against — stay home. But Garcetti already has about $1 million in the bank and no potential candidate has yet matched that.

Might some term-limited legislator, looking for a place to land, fix on the race for District Attorney? Any challenger will need that kind of jump start — a source of money, name recognition and organization — to dispatch the incumbent. The trial could supply a new political spokesman for victims' rights and legal reform. Will Fred Goldman, the father of murder victim Ron Goldman, emerge as the Mark Klaas or Mike Reynolds of the 1996 election? Through their drive to enact California's "Three-strikes and you're out" law, Klaas and Reynolds helped shape the political agenda of 1994. And, after the Simpson verdict, Reynolds suggested proposals to restrict defendants' rights.

Goldman has indicated he might involve himself in a drive to change criminal procedures. Garcetti, too, has begun to position jury reform as a potential campaign issue. It is an interesting strategy, which can deflect debate away from the District Attorney's past performance record and focus voter anger right back onto the jury.

Fallout from the Simpson trial has impacted Los Angeles city politics. Public and political dissatisfaction with the Los Angeles Police Department and its leadership has been growing. Now the less-than-stellar performance of the LAPD and its handling of evidence have created new problems for Mayor Richard Riordan, the City Council, and embattled Police Chief Willie Williams.

The increased tensions among Los Angeles' political leaders, and the racial divide over the validity of the Simpson verdict, define the most dangerous impact of the Simpson trial on the political process. The divergent perceptions of whites and African-Americans as to what went on in Judge Lance Ito's courtroom, and what came out of it, just about smashed the civic myths of unity, comity and equality. The issue of race moved front-and-center in the pre-election year debate.

Will that maintain? What might it mean for the fate of the California Civil Rights Initiative? Early speculation held that anger among whites would rev up the drive to dismantle all affirmative-action programs. That doesn't appear to have happened. The heat generated by the Simpson trial and fanned by the Million Man March may not scorch the political earth. Finally, Californians — and Angelenos, in particular — appear ready to enter a world beyond the O.J. Simpson trial.

What's next?

Recently, a group of media and political types got together to mark one year before the 1996 general election with "punditry, pastry, politics, pickles, AND NO O.J.!" The menu may have included only tomato and grapefruit juice, but debate over the issues spotlighted during the long months of the O. J. Simpson trial — race, class, police-minority relations, judicial-process reform — was served up in abundance.

These are the issues that will usher California into the election year. And any Presidential candidate who wants to mine this vote-rich state will need to pay attention to the complex political calculus of the *People vs. O.J. Simpson.*

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Washington Notes

PERSPECTIVE

by Marc Sandalow

"Mayor" Willie Brown Jr.

Willie Brown Jr.'s devotees see it coming.

After he wins the San Francisco mayor's job, the speaker emeritus is immediately propelled into a prominent role on the national stage. Charismatic, unabashedly liberal, and the most visible African American in California, Brown trades in his Sacramento prowess to become a spokesman for urban America, standing up to Newt Gingrich's GOP void.

Not so fast.

While no one should ever underestimate the political abilities of Willie Brown, a dose of reality is in order. There is no national void. It is certainly true that the days of big city mayors like Richard Daley and Fiorello LaGuardia are gone. But that has less to do with a dearth of strong personalities than the decline in population and political muscle of big cities.

While no one can blame Brown for trying to exploit San Francisco's fear of Republicans, it is simply wrong to assume that Washington is awaiting a new urban spokesman. There are plenty of hot political commodities among the ranks of American mayors. The problem is that the nation is no longer interested.

"Being a spokesman for urban America in the 1990s is akin to kissing your sister. That's not where the power and influence is," said David Bositis, senior political analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington.

Just a generation ago, Brown might also have distinguished himself nationally as San Francisco's first African-American mayor. No more. Detroit, Dallas, Atlanta, Cleveland, Baltimore, Denver, Minneapolis, Kansas City and Oakland, to name a few, all have Black mayors. Seattle Mayor Norm Rice, an African American, is president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In all, there are 397 African-American mayors in the U.S., according to the National Conference of Black Mayors.

Not that Brown, if he set his mind to it, couldn't carve out a place for himself in the national debate. No one doubts that if he became determined, he could rise to the top of the U.S. Conference of Mayors or the National Urban League with the same skills he used in the California Assembly. But Brown's assertion that he is needed as a counterpoint to Gingrich's Republicans does not ring true inside the beltway. "Send a message to Newt," a Brown-for-Mayor mailer proclaims, suggesting that 16-term assemblyman will flummox Republicans in Washington the way he did successfully in Sacramento.

Perhaps. But for now, no one in Washington is concerned.

"I have not even heard him mention your mayor's race, even once," a spokesman for House Speaker Newt Gingrich told John King of the *San Francisco Chronicle.*

In fact, that Mayor Frank Jordan's nude shower picture didn't even make the *Washington Post* Style pages should provide a clue as to how little attention has been paid to the race as a barometer of the nation's mood.

There is another election in the Bay Area December 12th that is being closely watched in Washington. Voters in the San Jose area will be choosing a replacement for veteran Democratic Congressman Norm Mineta, who decided nine months into his 10th term to walk off the job to take an executive post at Lockheed Martin.The race pits former San Jose councilman Jerry Estruth, a Democrat, against Republican Tom Campbell, who served two terms in Congress before abandoning his seat

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

to run for the Senate. Republicans see a strong opportunity to add another seat to their majority, and coupled with the recent announcement by Westside Democrat Tony Beilenson that he will not seek reelection, an opportunity to gain control of the California delegation in the 1996 election. Democrats, meanwhile, view the campaign as a premier testing ground of their nationwide strategy to parlay strong voter distaste for Speaker Gingrich into a wholesale rejection of Republican candidates.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has produced three ads for Estruth, all of which share a common theme: Newt is bad and Campbell belongs to the same party. Never mind that the moderate Campbell is about as far apart politically from Gingrich as any Republican could be. Surveys conducted by the Democratic Party show that dislike for Gingrich runs even higher in San Jose than in the rest of the country, and strategists don't want voters to miss the point. A 60-second Estruth spot now playing in the Bay Area features Gingrich's menacing face for 46 seconds. In the speech declaring his candidacy, Estruth referred to Gingrich 12 times.

National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Bill Paxon, a representative from upstate New York, insists that Gingrich is a "huge positive" even in Northern California, and says that "the Democratic strategy of focusing on Newt Gingrich is a waste of their dollars." Such a case could be made if Campbell is elected. But no one in California believes that for now. When Gingrich showed up in San Jose last month, Campbell was careful to campaign on the other side of the district.

Marc Sandalow is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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Inspiring Future Scientists

Lydia Cheng watches as Dr. Laurie Gage takes a sample of stomach contents from a dolphin at Marine World Africa USA in Vallejo, California.

Real Science! Draws Teens to Careers

Imagine your kids switching channels to watch a teen reporter petting a pregnant dolphin, hunting dinosaur tracks in Utah or blasting off for Mars via virtual reality.

It could happen, thanks to a new public television program, *Real Science!* Created by KTEH-TV in San Jose, with support from Hitachi, this fast-paced series features teen reporters visiting with scientists to find out what they do, why they enjoy it, and what teenagers can do to prepare themselves for similar careers.

Real Science! was developed to change American teens' attitudes towards the sciences. Statistics reveal a striking drop in interest in science by the time students reach the seventh grade. Equally alarming, American teens rank behind teens in other countries in scientific proficiency.

Hitachi is helping to reverse this trend by donating use of its TV facilities and committing $90,000 to produce and distribute *Real Science!* Four episodes are currently airing on public television and in schools, and 13 more are planned for the fall.

The show's producer, Maura Daly Phinney of San Jose public television station, KTEH, says *Real Science!* has one overriding goal: "We want the program to encourage students to pursue careers in science."

Hosted by California's 1994 Young Woman of the Year, Lydia Cheng, the series appeals to young people ages 8 to 18. Each 30-minute episode includes segments on three different science careers. Viewers accompany teenagers as they visit scientists, who demonstrate and explain their day-to-day work.

Supporting *Real Science!* is just one way Hitachi fulfills its social commitments. "We want to enrich the lives of young people by giving them fuel for their dreams," said Fred Hansen, executive vice president of Hitachi Data Systems. "Society's future rides on the hopes of today's youth, and we owe them an opportunity to create rewarding careers and fulfilling lives."

Maura Daly Phinney, producer of the *Real Science!* series.

Hitachi's outreach efforts include direct funding of projects like *Real Science!*, as well as donations and employee volunteerism for a host of national, regional and community-based projects. These activities benefit education, the arts, the environment, health care and social services.

HITACHI

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The West's Favorite Gasoline.

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